



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Mandela To Undergo Surgery on Right Eye

*MB1801111295 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1017
GMT 18 Jan 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Jan 18 SAPA—President Nelson Mandela is to have minor surgery to open a tear duct on his right eye on Wednesday afternoon, presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said in Pretoria.

He said Mr Mandela would be leaving for the Morning-side Clinic in Sandton after Wednesday's cabinet meeting. "It is minor procedure which shouldn't take longer than five minutes," Mr Mankahlana said.

In July last year the 76-year-old Mr Mandela had a cataract removed and a tear duct opened on his left eye at the same private clinic.

At the time surgeon Percy Amoils said Mr Mandela's tear glands had been damaged by the alkaline content of the limestone on Robben Island, where the president spent 18 years in jail.

Van der Merwe on Indemnity, Truth Commission

*MB1701173095 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1659
GMT 17 Jan 95*

[Report on interview with Police Commissioner Gen. Johan van der Merwe by correspondent Tony Stirling in Pretoria on 17 January]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Jan 17 SAPA—Retiring Commissioner of Police Gen Johan van der Merwe on Tuesday [17 January] confirmed he was among 3,500 policemen who had sought indemnity from prosecution.

In an interview he said he had felt it necessary as commissioner to apply for indemnity to identify with those of his men who had applied.

Gen van der Merwe, who retires in March, said indemnity had been sought for offences other than murder or other serious offences. The applications should be seen in the light of the fact that the applicants had acted under the instructions of the government of the day against a revolutionary onslaught that could not be countered by conventional policing. The indemnities had been sought within the parameters of legal provisions agreed to for this purpose.

Gen Van der Merwe said he was not opposed to a planned truth and reconciliation commission provided it focused on its prescribed constitutional intention of reconciliation and was non-partisan.

Should it instead be used as a vehicle for humiliation and retribution against certain parties it could cause disharmony, which the country could least afford.

Gen Van der Merwe said he favoured retaining the death penalty, particularly for those who had murdered

policemen or prison warders. It was the only deterrent to hardened prisoners murdering policemen or prison warders and its abolition would put the lives of these officials at greater risk.

Gen Van der Merwe said he believed the unbanning of organisations and freeing of political prisoners since he became commissioner in January, 1990 had been necessary.

There had been great dangers involved, including those of a coup d'etat or civil war. The government had been repeatedly warned of the possibility that elements in the security forces hostile to the changes could rise and effective counter-measures were taken.

On the eve of last year's all-race elections the prospect of civil war had been very real. The day had been saved by the last-minute decision to take part by the Inkatha Freedom Party and right-wing elements under former Defence Force Chief Gen Constand Viljoen, leader of the Freedom Front. Intelligence reviews at the time suggested a bloodbath was virtually certain if these two groups did not participate.

The timeous arrest of right-wingers bent on disrupting the elections proved vital. One incident of violence at a polling station could have sparked a train of incidents that would have made free and fair elections impossible.

Gen Van der Merwe said he did not think the police had received the recognition due to them for these early arrests, particularly as members of the former security police had been responsible for the breakthrough.

He said he wanted to see a purposeful and effective police force that could offer every citizen safety at home and work.

However, a culture of violence prevailed and the crime rate was high. With 15,000 to 20,000 murders annually, South Africa was one of the world's most violent societies and faced a long road to normality.

The culture of violence was contributed to by the murder of policemen. Although the number of police deaths had fallen last year for the first time in several years, the matter needed urgent attention including retaining the death penalty.

Gen Van der Merwe joined the police in Ermelo, Eastern Transvaal, where he was raised, in February, 1953 at the age of 16. He subsequently matriculated and earned a B juris degree.

After a number of postings he was commissioned in 1964 as a lieutenant at the headquarters of the security police, in which he was to rise to prominence. He did spells of duty at Lesotho border posts before being appointed head of the security police in the Orange Free State and Namibia. Like several of his predecessors, he became security police chief in 1988.

Gen Van der Merwe on Tuesday said he had no specific retirement plans except to start an enterprise that would provide jobs, particularly to the young, as he believed the country could not survive without creating more jobs.

He has a wife, a daughter and three sons, one of whom is a policeman in the computer division in Pretoria.

Several Policemen Deny Applying for Indemnity

MB1701113195 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
17 Jan 95 pp 1, 2

[Report by Bronwyn Littleton]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Some policemen whose names were included in the list of policemen indemnified shortly before last year's election said yesterday they had neither applied for nor wanted indemnity.

Former journalist and police spy John Horak who has been with the ANC since 1992, said there had been some "mischief" that led to his name being on the indemnity list. "I am extremely angry that my name appears on the list."

He said he had been perfectly open to the ANC about his past life in the now-defunct Bureau of State Security (BOSS) and had nothing to hide and no reason to apply for indemnity.

In fact, he had been in hiding overseas when the indemnity issue had arisen. He believed his name was on the list to create some doubt about his past—to imply that he had done something for which he would need indemnity and that he had not disclosed all his secrets to the ANC when he defected to the organisation in 1992.

Horak was a successful BOSS agent for 24 years while working at the Rand Daily Mail and other newspapers. When he defected he gave the ANC a list of police spies working in newspapers and in business as well as a detailed list of dirty operations in which the police were involved. "I told the ANC everything." "There is no logical reason for me to ask for indemnity."

Horak said another Pretoria policeman—a retired general—had been asked by telephone to fill out the amnesty application. He refused, but his name appears on the amnesty list. The general could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Another policeman who was surprised to hear that his name appeared on the list was former Brixton Murder and Robbery head Colonel Blackie Swart.

"I certainly have no reason to apply for indemnity and am confused that my name appears on the list," he said.

A captain, who refused to be named, said there was something "fishy" about the list. "I was asked to fill out the form and I refused because I did not want to be hauled before the truth commission," he said.

In the words of another police captain: "Die outjies is bekommerd (the boys are worried)". He said the men whose names appeared on the list believed they would be asked to testify to the truth commission on the crimes for which they had been indemnified.

Upcoming National Party Congress Previewed

Recruitment of Blacks Key Issue

MB1301184795 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English 13-19 Jan 95 p 3

[Report by Zohra Mohamed]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A plan for a mass recruitment drive to attract black support for the National Party (NP) is expected to emerge as one of the key issues at its federal congress later this month.

The National Party, still reeling from its failure to attract a significant number of black votes during the country's first democratic elections last year, is expected to critically examine its intended role as a nonracial party.

This was disclosed by the National Party's Director of Information, MP Martinus van Schalkwyk, during a wide-ranging interview with the NEW NATION this week.

As part of a bid to bolster its image as an emerging nonracial political party, Van Schalkwyk said the number of NP offices in white areas would be rationalised and a serious attempt will be made to open more offices in black areas.

"We have, with difficulty, learnt in the post-election period to accept a loss of power, especially after 40 years of rule. We have to focus on the new role of our party, and the challenges that lie ahead.

"One of the major challenges for us is to broaden our support base to reflect all population groups especially in leadership roles. This will be achieved when we set up more offices in black areas," he said.

In reflecting the changing face of the NP, Van Schalkwyk added that it had to provide an alternative to the ANC.

We are the only alternative to the ANC that believes in values that cut across the racial spectrum.

"Our policies are based on traditional Christian values, we support the concept of federalism, free market policies but with the necessary state intervention, and basic human rights.

Other central issues likely to come under the spotlight at the congress are the concept of majority rule, affirmative action in the public service and reflections on the Government of National Unity (GNU).

"We believe that the GNU is working, but we are not completely satisfied with it. We still believe that it needs to be finely tuned."

Van Schalkwyk says his party's future proposals regulating the concept of power sharing will focus on altering the decision-making process.

He says the NP would prefer a situation where the majority party is allowed more freedom to govern but at the same time there should be a greater emphasis on reaching major decisions through consensus.

On the October local government elections, the NP acknowledges the strength of the ANC as the strongest political party, but adds that its perceived failure to deliver on preelection promises would have a negative impact on it.

"The local government elections will not yield any significant change.

"People will still want to identify with the winning party, and the elections scheduled for this October are very close to the general elections that took place last April. The local government elections will therefore not be a test of strength for any party.

"The real test will be the next general election in four years. We believe that it will be very difficult for any party to have more than 50 percent of the votes then. This is where the NP will be focusing its efforts. In aiming for maximum support in our run-up to the next general elections, we intend to broaden our support base in a hard-driving campaign to boost NP ratings."

Van Schalkwyk was positive federalism would receive the support of senior ANC figures. "We believe that this is a concept where we would find very strong allies in the ANC," he said.

Contentious issues that will receive attention at the congress include abortion, rape, the death penalty, which the NP wants to reintroduce, and the Truth Commission.

Van Schalkwyk discounted speculations of a leadership contest between Dawie de Villiers and Roelf Meyer, adding that the two men had no differences and that there were no positions vacant in the NP to contest.

"FW De Klerk is going to be around as our leader for many years to come, and we do not expect any change yet in this regard," he added.

Building Opposition Role Important

MB1301184895 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 13-19 Jan 95 p 7

[Report by Marthinus van Schalkwyk, National Party director of media and information]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The forthcoming federal congress of the National Party [NP] symbolises a party which must accept important challenges to maintain its indispensable role in South African politics. It is a party which—after more than 40 years—has for the first time, had to undergo the traumatic experience of losing power.

The NP congress must not be seen against a background of a party which wishes to cling to power at all costs. It must be seen as the first step in a process of building a party which bases its political philosophy on:

—Traditional (Christian) values within the context of freedom of religion.

—Action against crime and unemployment.

—A free market economy with as little as possible state intervention and regulation.

—A constitution based on federal principles.

The congress will illustrate that the NP does not and will not stand in the shadow of any other party. We will have to initiate the process of bringing other parties, which concur with our political philosophy, close together. The ANC has succeeded in building a "broad church" on the socialist/social democratic side which, notwithstanding internal tension, is not about to split.

The process of building a political movement based on our philosophy as against that of socialism/social democracy has everything to do with the healthy rivalry of ideas and posing alternatives to ensure a democracy. This includes co-operating in the country's interests with political groups which are not socialist/social-democratic.

The NP congress will also place matters of topical interest on the national agenda. The great disadvantage of the present government of national unity (GNU) set-up is that it hobbles public debate between the strongest parties and shifts debate from the public domain to the closed cabinet chamber.

An analysis of the motions and points of discussion show that NP supporters want the following issues on the agenda:

—Bringing back the death penalty under certain circumstances.

—Courts refrain from making bail so easily available for serious criminals.

—The psychosis of strikes which is harming the economy be ended.

—Abortion on demand not be legalised.

—Ensuring educational standards not be jeopardised.

Congress will be an indication of the state of mind of NP supporters. After an initial period of adaptation to a new role, there is ever increasing commitment to the role of constructive opposition. Congress will be a measure of the NP's adaptation to the role of constructive opposition not only in its criticism, but also by posing alternative policies. Great emphasis will be placed on policy frameworks which will form the basis to be used by our representatives in the GNU in formulating policies together with other parties.

These have been formulated by a number of working groups over several months, and will be submitted to congress. These policy frameworks include education, safety, security, constitutional matters, the economy and the reconstruction and development programme. They are so formulated that they not only clearly spell out the NP's policy, but that they also create scope for negotiation for our representatives in the GNU.

The NP has successfully expanded its support base in all other communities with the exception of the black community where we attracted little support in the election. One major challenge will be to address this issue in a committed way. All of us must guard against political parties, be it the NP, the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party, just becoming flag-bearers for limited ethnic interests. The NP can do it. In the interests of the country, it must succeed in obtaining a broad power base with a modern agenda based on our political philosophy.

We must provide an alternative to the ANC in its present form. If we don't we will be faced with all the consequences of a de facto one-party state, however benign, and the absence of constructive democratic debate.

NP Facing 'Serious Criticism'

MB1501192895 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 15 Jan 95 p 4

[FBIS Translated Text] Serious criticism has been leveled against the National Party [NP] by its own supporters in a key document on the eve of the party's federal congress, which will take place in Johannesburg this week. NP supporters are particularly unhappy about the management of the party and accuse the NP of a lack of vision.

Senior NP officeholders admitted to RAPPORT that there are problems within the party. The document, which has come into RAPPORT's possession, is the product of intense self-examination by the NP in the light of the result of last year's general election.

This newspaper reported on the document last year. At that time, it was already evident from answers to questions sent to the party structures that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the party. The whole process has now been completed, but the party's executive director, Fanus Schoeman, maintains that the party does not have its back to the wall. He said the party has taken note of the document, and there is nothing unusual about it. It is a serious attempt by the party to communicate with its people.

"We are not breaking up. People are uncertain, so some of them are lukewarm. Last year was a difficult one for the NP. Some of the party supporters are uncertain, and there is a need to clarify the direction of the party. The question is not whether there are problems, but what to do about them," he said.

The document consists of seven sections, but it is mainly the section titled "National Party Management" that gives food for thought to the party's hierarchy. Supporters complain about the party's lack of a policy. They say the NP is short on vision and has lost its voice. Its participation in the government of national unity could also mean its downfall. The party is politically passive and must rid itself of the apartheid stigma.

It appears to NP supporters that the ANC is taking over without any opposition. Supporters also accuse the party of ineffective communication and say that voters are confused and cold toward the party. The NP needs to move closer to its members. It must reach out to new members, and there are too few black leaders in the party. The youth also need to play a larger role.

The NP leadership has too low of a profile, and the leaders' credibility is threatened. In addition, it seems to the supporters that the leaders are being anglicized. Other issues which bother party supporters are:

- Crime: The government is ineffective in combating crime, and there is no longer any discipline in the country;
- Educational standards: Constitutional agreements on education are not being honored;
- The economy: Strangling taxes, strikes, too soft action against trade unions, and overspending are the main problems;
- Elections: These must be more strictly controlled; and
- Affirmative Action: It leaves skilled people jobless. Whites must not be pushed out.

A draft discussion document has been drawn up as a result of the document and will be presented to delegates at the congress.

Official on Upcoming Congress

MB1601160495 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1535 GMT 16 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Pretoria Jan 16 SAPA—The National Party [NP] will insist that indemnity be dealt with even-handedly. NP Executive Director Fanus Schoeman said in Pretoria on Monday [16 January].

He told a news briefing that constitutional negotiations and the April general election had not been about "one side wiping out the other".

The indemnity issue had been taken out of context and this would be one of the topics which the NP's federal congress would discuss later this week, Mr Schoeman said.

Justice Minister Dullah Omar on Thursday said he would not accept 3,500 indemnities granted to mostly policemen in terms of the Indemnity Act shortly before the April election.

Mr Schoeman said these indemnities were no different from those granted to members of the African National Congress.

"There is no question of two sets of rules when it comes to indemnity or the truth commission."

Mr Schoeman said the NP congress, due to be held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park from Thursday to Saturday, would be the first step towards "relaunching" the party.

Party supporters had been complaining that the NP was silent on several issues, Mr Schoeman said. The NP would use the congress to gear itself for negotiations on the final constitution, the October local government elections and the next general election in 1999. [passage omitted]

A draft resolution on local government elections calls for the NP to have a say in the delimitation of wards and the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] (Gauteng) NP branch has asked that the registration of voters be discussed "to ensure a reliable voters' roll".

On security, the Rustenburg district council in the North-West asks the congress to note that it is impossible for potential NP supporters in rural districts to express their support for the party.

Several branches express concern about rising crime and the PWV region has asked that the congress declares itself in favour of the death sentence for serious crimes, including murder and rape. The PWV branch says the death penalty should only be enforceable with regard to crimes committed after the present moratorium has been lifted.

A resolution on education says education and training must be "reasonably available" for all South African children. "The parents in the various communities can themselves determine in a democratic way which type of school and effective management should be in the best interest of their children."

A resolution by the NP's Federal Women's Action expresses "deep concern about the course on which the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] is presently developing".

The congress will be opened by party leader and deputy president, Mr F W de Klerk, on Thursday night.

Parties Represented in Parliament on Constitution

ANC Outlines Goals

MB1601094495 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English (CONSTITUTIONAL TALK supplement)
15 Jan 95 p 3

[From the "official newsletter of the Constitutional Assembly"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] As the Constitutional Assembly (CA) begins to deal with substantive issues, the ANC will try to ensure that the final constitution "reflects the aspirations of all South Africans", according to the party's chief negotiator, Mohammed Valli Moosa.

"The constitution the ANC would like to see at the end of the process should unambiguously reflect the principle of majority rule," Moosa explained. "It will have to provide that future governments will be based on that principle."

He said the ANC was entering this stage of the constitution making process with the principle that "nobody, no political party should assume that it knows best what the people of the country want"

"We will insist that the CA leaves no stone unturned in consulting with people throughout the country. Whatever emerges from that process will have to be reflected in the new constitution," he said.

On the question of a federal system of government being enshrined in the new constitution, Moosa said his organisation would rather opt for a constitution that is "not for or against federalism, as such".

"We will take note of the experiences we have learnt from the way provincial governments are operating now. We will consult with our structures in the provinces whether to leave or change that system," said Moosa.

Regarding the question of rights of citizens being enshrined in the new constitution, Moosa said the ANC would like to ensure that the final text contains a Bill of Rights, instead of a chapter (on fundamental rights) contained in the Interim Constitution.

"More careful thought will have to be given to second and third generation rights. We understand that this issue could not be finalised at the multi-party negotiating process because we thought that that body could not perform this task.

"The constitution must guarantee that there will be a vertical and horizontal application of the Bill of Rights so that citizens can know how to relate to each other, instead of the constitution providing only for a relationship between the citizens and the state," he said.

The ANC will also want a constitution that unequivocally provides for democratic representation at all levels. "The constitutional principles say that there should be democratically elected governments at all levels, from national to local level," Moosa said.

Asked whether this provision would not lead to clashes with traditional authorities since traditional leaders are not supposed to be elected, Moosa said: "Democratic representation at all levels does not in any way mean that we will not give recognition to traditional authorities and traditional leaders.

"We will be fortunate that when we draft the new text the House of Traditional Leaders will already be in place and we will draw on their input on how traditional authority can be embodied in the new constitution without resulting in any confusion."

Regarding the issue of a Volkstaat [people's state for Afrikaans], Moosa said the ANC would wait until the Volkstaat Council has made its submissions on this issue and the nature of the Volkstaat is explained.

"The nature of their input will inform us about the response we should give," he said.

NP To Ensure Minority Role

MB1601100195 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English (CONSTITUTIONAL TALK supplement)
15 Jan 95 p 3

[From the "official newsletter of the Constitutional Assembly"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The National Party (NP) wants a new constitution that will enhance the Interim Constitution, says the party's executive director Fanus Schoeman.

The NP, which is the second largest party in the Constitutional Assembly, will certainly play a key role in shaping the new constitution.

Schoeman said the NP wants to ensure a new constitution that will have a "balanced" charter on fundamental rights to satisfy the different interest groups in the country, "taking into account international protocols and minority rights".

This, Schoeman said, was not an attempt to secure a minority veto, but a way to ensure that all cultural, language, political and religious [groups], however small, are recognised and given a role to play.

However, Schoeman said the NP was still trying to work out whether the system of proportional representation—which ensures a role for political minorities, at least—should be retained in the new constitution.

"It is too early to have a fixed view about what kind of a system we want."

"We are considering a dual system of proportional representation as well as constituencies to reflect proportionality and retain the line between the electorate and their representatives.

Equally, the NP has as yet not taken a final decision on whether they would like the new constitution to provide for a Government of National Unity (GNU).

"It's also too early to tell. As far as we are concerned, the GNU is working well, it is helping us through the difficult phase of transition.

"We are studying other models in several parts of the world, to determine whether we should have a 100 percent proportional representation system or a constituency-based system," he said.

The NP, Schoeman said, believes that a constituency-based system was essential because it provides a direct link between party elected representatives and voters, which the proportional representation system fails to do.

One other aspect the NP would like to see enshrined in the new constitution is the powers of provincial governments.

"We will want a fuller and detailed situation as far as the powers for provincial governments are concerned.

"The new constitution should make it certain to them (the provinces) about what their powers are," said Schoeman.

This, he added, did not necessarily mean that the NP wanted more powers for provincial governments than those provided for in the Interim Constitution, but that there should be more clarity in the new constitution.

Equally, the NP would want the functions of the second house of parliament, the Senate, clearly defined in the new constitution.

"We would like Senators to play their role as representatives of the provinces. As it is now, the Senate is trying to work out its functions for itself. The new constitution should make it easier for them."

The size of Parliament—400 National Assembly and 90 Senate members—which for other parties was too big and needed to be cut down in the new constitution, was not a priority for the NP, Schoeman said.

"If you have a country as big as ours, it is important to ensure that you give every citizen the right to be properly represented in parliament."

Schoeman said his party would not go back to its policy that South Africa should be a Christian state.

"It is not wise for a government to stand for a specific religion," he said. "Religious freedom are the key words." [sentence as published]

IFP Seeks Provincial Powers

MB1601094595 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English (CONSTITUTIONAL TALK supplement)
15 Jan 95 p 2

[From the "official newsletter of the Constitutional Assembly"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] When the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leaves the National Assembly chamber on May 10 next year, after the new constitution has been adopted, the party would like to take "a rigid constitution" to its constituency and the people of South Africa.

IFP chief negotiator, Walter Felgate told Constitutional Talk that only a constitution which provides for residual powers to lay with the provincial governments would be regarded by his party as an important element in the preservation of the constitution as the supreme law of the country.

Felgate said the IFP would also want to ensure that more powers are given to the provinces, arguing that even the Interim Constitution stipulated that the provinces "will have no less than..."

"This for us means that the Interim Constitution anticipates that more powers will be given," said Felgate.

The IFP, Felgate said, had not yet developed a firm position on the type of a constituency-based system it would like the new constitution to provide for.

"We are looking at the issue fairly closely," he said.

But the IFP would certainly not want the principle of a Government of National Unity (GNU) to be carried over to the new constitution.

The present GNU is a farce. A GNU is only thought about in a bad democracy. In a good democracy you don't need it," [no beginning quotation mark as published] said Felgate.

He acknowledges that it might have been needed to achieve reconciliation, but he noted: "The IFP wants reconciliation under true democracy."

Turning to the Volkstaat [people's state for Afrikaners] question, Felgate said his party believed that it would be impossible to have a geographically based Volkstaat.

"The Volkstaat arrangement must have the full approval of all the people living in whatever area that is supposed to be declared a Volkstaat," he said.

Another matter that the IFP will pursue during the process of writing the new constitution is that of provincial boundaries.

But he said the current boundaries were "fairly satisfactory, although we will need some adjustments in areas such as the Eastern Cape Province". The protection of traditional law and custom is also on a list of issues the IFP will want the CA [Constitutional Assembly] to consider. Felgate said the IFP wanted an arrangement where traditional authorities will be sub-structures of elected bodies, instead of falling under them which would "destroy traditional authority".

The IFP had no problems with the time frames for writing the new constitution. But, Felgate said: "We want the new constitution to be written efficiently and quickly, if possible, within the existing time frames."

"But we must not sacrifice the integrity of the constitution by taking short-cuts to force things into time frames," he said.

FF Seeks 'Tailor-Made' Document

MB1601100295 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English (CONSTITUTIONAL TALK supplement)
15 Jan 95 p 6

[From the "official newsletter of the Constitutional Assembly"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front's (FF) goal in the process of drafting the new constitution is the achievement of a "tailor-made constitution to satisfy the peculiar and specific requirements of South Africa".

Viljoen said no constitutional model applied elsewhere in the world could provide a lesson to South Africa, given the "complexities of our situation".

"If you apply direct majority rule, you will permanently put some people outside decision making."

"Afrikaners may be in the minority but they can play a key role in assisting the majority in decision-making... and that is the role that the new constitution must define," he said.

Viljoen argues that a way has to be found to "acknowledge" majority rule, but also to ensure that there is no oppression over the minority. His party, he said, cannot prescribe a solution to this. "That is what we have to negotiate."

Discussing the notion of a Volkstaat [people's state]—a subject that is likely to dominate his party's submissions—Viljoen insisted that this was neither a demand for a separate country for Afrikaners nor for an area where Afrikaners can exercise racial discrimination over people of other races.

"If you look at the situation now, we (the Afrikaners) are distributed throughout the country. There is nowhere where we are not. But there is no large area where we are in the majority because of mistakes of the past."

"What we are talking about, when we talk about a Volkstaat, is an engine room to develop Afrikaner culture, religion and language, so that we can have our own radio stations, schools and universities and be sure that our language will be the official language in that area," he said.

He added that Afrikaners living in the Volkstaat would have to have political but not economic autonomy because "South Africa is inter-dependent economically".

The process of establishing the Volkstaat, he said, would start with the identification of an area where Afrikaners would be resettled voluntarily. Other nations could stay in this area and would not be denied franchise, he added.

Asked whether Afrikaners would enjoy any additional rights in the Volkstaat, he said: "No! This is not the purpose. The problem is that we are being swamped by other nations. Our language is slowly dying."

"You will see now that many black kids will come to schools that teach in Afrikaans—not that I am against this—and what will happen is that they (the schools) will have to change and teach in English simply because soon there will be a majority black rule."

Discussing the type of arrangement his party was looking for, he said: "We are looking for an area like Venda, where the majority are Vendas, they speak their language, they have their own leaders and exercise their culture, but they are still part of South Africa."

Should the envisaged Volkstaat be classified as a province, would they insist on an Afrikaner premier, for example? Viljoen said: "We will have a constitution there that will not allow racial discrimination. But just as this country will always have a black president because of the numbers, in that province as well, we might end up with Afrikaner-dominated government all the time, because we will be in the majority."

Fears that such an Afrikaner province or Volkstaat might later seek independence could be real, but he argued: "To my mind there is no region in South Africa that can afford independence. Take KwaZulu/Natal, it is a big region, but it won't survive on its own because our economy is so interdependent."

PAC Stresses Grassroots Role

MB1601101295 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English (CONSTITUTIONAL TALK supplement)
15 Jan 95 p 7

[The "official newsletter of the Constitutional Assembly"]

[FBI Transcribed Text] As the process of debating substantive issues starts, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is concerned that the Constitutional Court "and not the people" will have the final word on the new constitutional text, according to its chief negotiators, Gora Ebrahim.

The Constitutional Court is supposed to certify the new constitutional text to ensure that it complies with the set of 34 Constitutional Principles that the Constitutional Assembly (CA) has to abide by during its work.

Ebrahim argues that the Constitutional Court is not thoroughly representative of the entire South African population.

"The Constitutional Court cannot claim to either have been elected or representative," he said.

He said the legal profession from which the majority of members of this court have been drawn, was made up of the "same people who have ruled in the past".

"There are serious imbalances in the legal profession from the point of view of race and gender. If you have a composition of that kind and then draw people from that

body to have a final say in the new constitution, then the whole purpose of a having a CA is defeated," said Ebrahim.

His party did not have a problem with the principle of the CA being bound by Constitutional Principles in the performance of its tasks, but it was concerned with some of those principles.

"We do have problems that some of those Constitutional Principles are merely aimed at protecting certain interests.

"If the idea is that they should be there to protect the interests of our people, against whom are we protecting them because the CA is a body elected by the people themselves?"

Ebrahim said his party wanted the principle of a unitary state to be enshrined in the new constitution. "We will not agree to any move towards fragmentation based on ethnicity or race.

"This, however, did not mean that the PAC would object to the existence of provincial and local governments, he said. But these structures must be limited to the task of service delivery within a broad central government policy."

The PAC, therefore, would not agree to the suggestion that provinces should have their own constitutions. "That will mean fragmenting the country," Ebrahim said.

While the PAC recognised that a constituency-based system would not have been possible in the April election, the party would now go out to ensure that this system is enshrined in the final constitution. "The PAC recognises the fact that under the present circumstances, it would not have been possible to hold a constituency-based election, because we would end up having apartheid-based constituencies, because of the way in which the apartheid system has divided us.

"We must now strive towards demarcating constituencies. Fortunately, we will hold local government elections soon—which cannot be held without a proper registration of voters."

Asked about the PAC's position on the Volkstaat [people's state for Afrikaners] issue, since it abstained when the vote on the establishment of the Volkstaat Council was tabled in the National Assembly, Ebrahim said: "We could not vote on something that is not clear to us.

"The Volkstaat advocates have not yet submitted a full proposal on the said Volkstaat. We want to know what will happen to non-Afrikaners living in that Volkstaat?"

"If we are about to write a constitution that will guarantee equal rights to all, what other rights would the Volkstaat advocates like to enjoy in the Volkstaat?"

DP Urges Devolution of Power

MB1601101395 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English (CONSTITUTIONAL TALK supplement)
15 Jan 95 p 7

[From the "official newsletter of the Constitutional Assembly"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Democratic Party (DP) chief negotiator, Colin Eglin, said the starting point for his party when it comes to writing the new constitution is that of "a constitution that is liberal, democratic and federal".

A constitution like this, he said, will be "best suited to meet the needs of our people and reflect the realities of our country".

"Throughout the constitution making process the Democratic Party will try to strengthen these features, some of which are present in the Interim Constitution, and we will want to see them built into the new constitution," he said.

The overall DP input into the making of the new constitution will be based on the party's desire to ensure that a constitution must bring government closer to the people—and the people closer to government.

"Wherever possible, people must be empowered to make decisions on matters directly affecting their lives and their communities," he said.

"This can be done by strengthening the provincial system, allocating more original powers to the provincial governments and ensuring their financial and fiscal viability," Eglin said.

"In addition, there must be effective people-driven local governments in both the urban and rural areas through which communities can exercise a considerable degree of local autonomy." To ensure effectiveness whether at the national, provincial or local levels of government, the DP, will want to ensure that the constitution maximises openness and accountability at these levels.

"This can be done by introducing strong checks on the executive government and on the decisions of bureaucrats, and by introducing direct constituency accountability for elected public representatives.

"The public must have the right of access to information relating to executive and administrative decisions," said Eglin.

The Bill of Rights to be enshrined in the new constitution should guarantee fundamental human rights, civil liberties and equality before the law to all the people of the country, he added.

"The Bill of Rights must be written in a language that can be understood and be meaningful to the individual citizens of our country."

If the Bill of Rights will provide a legal framework within which the society will function and governance will take place, it is essential that there should be a strong and independent judiciary, he said.

This means that the courts as well as the entire legal system should be readily accessible to the ordinary citizens.

"While it is important that the new constitution should totally reject all forms of racial discrimination, it must provide for the cultural, religious and language diversity that is part of our country's rich heritage.

"Each South African, whether acting as an individual or acting together with others with whom he or she shares a common heritage, must feel comfortable and secure under the new constitution.

"The new constitution must encourage our people to say 'in spite of our diversity, we are all South Africans. Because the constitution respects our rights, we respect it too,'" said Eglin.

Although believing that representivity and accountability makes it necessary for South Africa to have a range of legislative, executive and judicial structures, the DP believes that a developing country like South Africa should take the cost factor into account.

In this regard, the DP will strive to ensure that government structures under the new constitution are as small and as cost-effective as possible. "After all, there is not much point in having new constitutional structures if the country cannot afford to pay for them," he said.

ACDP Wants Moral Laws Enshrined

MB1601101495 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English (CONSTITUTIONAL TALK supplement)
15 Jan 95 p 6

[From the "official newsletter of the Constitutional Assembly"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) is set to ensure a new constitution that "upholds God's moral laws", says its leader, Pastor Kenneth Meshoe.

"We don't want to see a constitution that undermines the supreme laws of God," he insisted during an interview with Constitutional Talk.

The ACDP is the smallest of the seven parties represented in the Constitutional Assembly. It was established shortly before the April elections and its electoral campaign was based on Christian principles, family values and an open economy. Although the party and its leadership believe in Christianity, Meshoe says the party does not favour a situation where a country is declared a Christian state.

"A country cannot become Christian but only its people. The constitution must allow Christians and other religious groups to worship freely without any government interference."

What the ACDP wants, Meshoe says, is to ensure that "whether we are Christians, Muslims or any other religion, we have a constitution that respects the will of God. Christian and Islamic principles—when it comes to moral issues—are not in conflict with one another."

The ACDP wants to ensure "the rights of victims", as well.

"We want to see a constitution that protects the rights of all citizens, especially the rights of law-abiding citizens. We hear all the time about the rights of culprits and prisoners," said Meshoe.

Although he did not suggest that convicted criminals should not have rights, Meshoe said: "It does not make sense that a convicted criminal would insist on a two-star accommodation in jail, when a law-abiding citizen is living in a shack."

There also should be a balance between rights and responsibilities, Meshoe said.

"When people demand certain rights, they must also be prepared to accept responsibilities."

Meshoe is concerned about a provision in the Interim Constitution that, in his opinion, goes against "the will of God and African culture".

And that is the clause in the Interim Constitution that prohibits discrimination on grounds such as sexual preference.

The ACDP, Meshoe said, is against homosexuality, therefore giving no room for marriages of people of the same sex.

"What people do not realise is that this clause puts us priests in a lot of trouble... What it means is that if two people of the same sex come to my church and ask me to marry them, if I refuse on grounds that they are of the same sex, they have recourse to the law," he said.

During the process of drafting the new constitution, the ACDP will make people aware of the "real implications of a clause of this nature" as the party would like it omitted when the new constitution is drawn.

A provision allowing priests a choice on whether to perform this type of marriage would not be enough as far as the ACDP is concerned, Meshoe said. "We have to test the will of the people on this issue... And I am sure the majority of our people would not allow such marriages to be legalised. This is against the will of God and African culture. It is just the truth," he insisted.

Asked whether such a position would not antagonise the human rights movement, Meshoe said: "If human rights groupings want to be against the truth, so be it.

"And, as an African, I wouldn't like to see European liberals imposing their lifestyles on the African masses."

CP Decides To Participate in Local Elections

MB1401161195 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1500 GMT 14 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The right-wing Conservative Party [CP] in South Africa has announced that it is to take part in October's local elections.

Speaking in Pretoria, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said that by taking part in the elections, his party was creating the opportunity for white South Africans to unite with regard to the principal of freedom and self-determination.

Dr. Hartzenberg said his party realized that the ANC would achieve a majority of elected councillors, but his party could still play a positive role as an opposition party. He said his party will only be canvassing for votes from the white community.

The CP boycotted South Africa's first democratic elections in April last year.

BSP Criticizes Decision

MB1501134895 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1004 GMT 15 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Jan 15 SAPA—The Conservative Party's [CP] decision on Saturday [14 January] to take part in upcoming municipal elections was greeted with regret on Sunday by the Boerestaat Party [Boer State Party; BSP].

BSP leader Robert van Tonder said "we Boers" had refused to take part in the April 1994 election precisely because three and a half million members of the Boer people could not compete with a voters' roll of 20 million.

Now CP leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg was doing precisely the same thing that resulted in Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen being branded a traitor, according to Mr Van Tonder.

"The CP will be greatly damaged by its decision," predicted the BSP leader.

Freedom Front Applauds CP

MB1501164295 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1604 GMT 15 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Jan 15 SAPA—The Freedom Front [FF] on Sunday [15 January] welcomed the Conservative Party's [CP] decision to take part in the forthcoming local government election.

The more the Afrikaner became involved in the current political process, the better his chances to realize his ideal of self determination, FF local government spokesman Pieter Groenewald said in a statement.

He said the CP had now admitted that the FF had taken the right decision when it took part in last year's general election.

FF's Viljoen Obtains ANC Caucus' 'Goodwill'

MB1201160395 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
12 Jan 95 p 13

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Constand Viljoen's rapid accession to leadership through the grumbling ranks of the right wing in one of the most tense phases of the negotiation process seemed ominous.

Within weeks, he had grasped the hopes of a disaffected white Right and projected them into the national political debate with a startling suddenness and efficiency.

Many believed he was intent on soldiering recklessly into the political fray, upsetting the delicately balanced forces of the major deal-makers on each side in pursuit—at all costs—of a merely romantic and politically unattainable notion of Afrikaner separatism.

Yet fears that the general was destined to be a dangerously naive influence on already fractious and volatile right/left—and even black/white—political relations in South Africa have proved to be unfounded.

He showed, before the election, that he was willing to talk, and did so in good faith.

And when April came, despite the considerable forces of the alienated Right ranged against him, in sentiment at least—Viljoen the strategist mustered his courage and took the Freedom Front into the democratic mainstream.

Many in the ANC believe this was one of the most significant events of 1994.

One who has expressed this most strongly is Western Cape MP Willie Hofmeyr, who concludes that "it is much more important for the peace process that (the Freedom Front) is on board than that the Nats [National Party] are on board".

He believes the public "has lost sight of how close we came to the possibility of a Northern Ireland-type low-intensity civil war in the run-up to the election".

This was highlighted by the crisis in Bophuthatswana and the spate of preballot bomb blasts.

"I think two factors ensured it didn't happen.

"The first is the kind of measures taken by the ANC to allay the fears of the right wing, such as compromises to guarantee civil servants their jobs, the reconciliatory approach adopted in the security forces and elsewhere, and the ANC's willingness to talk to and listen to Constand Viljoen.

"But the second factor is Constand Viljoen himself. He needs to be given a lot of the credit.

"He did a very brave thing in breaking with the right wing and deciding to enter the elections in a situation where there was not much time to talk to other people, and where he went against a fairly consensus view. He made himself very unpopular, but his position has really been vindicated.

"The Freedom Front do not see themselves as an opposition party to the ANC, or that they are competing for the same votes. I think they realise that they need to work with the ANC and they are prepared to do that.

"They have no illusions that they can win an election. They want to consolidate support among the Afrikaner community on the basis of being consistent and working for what they believe in, rather than merely bashing the ANC."

Hofmeyr says it is ironic that while the Nats are formally part of the Government—and "constantly torn over that"—the Freedom Front "behaves more as if it is part of the Government. They shoulder more co-responsibility for stability and peace."

ANC sources believe that the way the Government is running the country is "taking a lot of the heat" out of the volkstaat debate and that, partly as a result of this, the Freedom Front is moving towards more realistic models for a volkstaat.

It is not surprising, then, that, as Hofmeyr puts it, General Viljoen's decision to "bite the bullet and do things that did not seem immediately popular" is seen from within the ANC as a sign of leadership. As a result, there is a great deal of goodwill towards the Freedom Front in the ANC caucus.

The Freedom Front's lone provincial legislator in the Western Cape, Eleanor Lombard, epitomises her party's approach in pursuing a strategy that could reasonably borrow the label of then US President Reagan's South Africa policy of the constructive engagement.

She is not uncritical of the ANC (and certainly not of the National Party), but, equally, does not engage in set-piece opposition politics.

"It is nonsense," she says, "to say you can do your own thing. Afrikaners have always over-estimated themselves. There is no such thing as being able to go it alone."

She is out to engage constructively in pursuit of the ideal of a volkstaat, but not one that amounts to a laager under siege.

"The 'legitimacy' and self-realisation of Afrikaners as a cultural and linguistic group will depend on their having a place which is their own, not where they all have to live, not where no-one else can live, but where their culture and language is unassailable, recognised, can flourish, be preserved.

"That is our position, but we want to engage constructively because we believe there will be no successful volkstaat, no place for Afrikaners, if the country as a whole does not succeed."

COSATU Leader on Indemnity, RDP, Slovo

MB1501133795 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0939 GMT 15 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Johannesburg Jan 14 SAPA—The Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] President John Gomomo on Sunday [15 January] demanded an investigation into past alleged assassination attempts on Housing Minister Joe Slovo and other members of the South African Communist Party [SACP].

Mr Gomomo was speaking at Mr Slovo's funeral service at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto, south west of Johannesburg, shortly before Mr Slovo's interment at the nearby Avalon Cemetery.

Mr Slovo, who was minister of housing and chairman of the SACP, died on January 6 after a four-year long battle against bone marrow cancer.

Mr Gomomo, in a speech prepared for delivery, also demanded an investigation into the murder of Mr Slovo's first wife, Ruth First, who was killed by a letter bomb in 1982 in her office at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo where she was a lecturer.

The COSATU president went on to strongly condemn recent revelations of indemnity having been granted to about 3,500 policemen and high-ranking police officers shortly before South Africa's first all-race elections in April last year.

"COSATU will never accept the amnesty which the apartheid regime secretly gave itself for the crimes they committed. These people (those who had been indemnified) must be brought before an open court. If they want to apply for indemnity then they must apply through the truth commission, and tell the South African people what they want indemnity for," Mr Gomomo charged. [passage omitted]

He added that as a tribute to Mr Slovo and his dedication to the Reconstruction and Development Programme [RDP] COSATU would strive to set up "RDP brigades" and councils to address the problems of housing, infrastructure and recreational facilities. Forums would also be established in workplaces to "democratise decision-making and put an end to apartheid practices". Mr Gomomo urged workers to "mobilise" to ensure employers took the RDP seriously.

"They (employers) can no longer decide on their own how to control industry...we must demand that they

begin to invest in job creation, end retrenchments, train and educate our people (and) pay a living wage." [passage omitted]

South African Press Review for 18 Jan

MB1801122195

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Call for Communities To Repair Education Damage—Gauteng member of the Executive Council Mary Metcalfe has "hit the nail on the head when she said while it was right to blame apartheid for much of the devastation in township schools, and education in general, the onus for repairing the damage lies in large part with the affected communities," states a page 20 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 18 January. "While the Government must obviously play a central role in this process, the apathy of the past, and expectations that the State must and will provide everything, have to be rooted out quickly."

BUSINESS DAY

Health Care Model—"Any particular health care model is open to criticism, and determining the most appropriate one, or combination of models, is one of the most difficult tasks facing the new government," says Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 18 January in a page 8 editorial. Health Minister Zuma's "determination to seek a qualitative change in the health care available to the majority of people is neither surprising nor wrong." She is representing the interests "of those who elected her." BUSINESS DAY can understand her "irritation, and that of her special adviser Olive Shisana, in dealing with criticism which has little to offer in the way of alternatives."

FINANCE WEEK

Free Education Confusion—Johannesburg FINANCE WEEK in English for 12-18 January in its page 4 editorial says a "gift" to pupils for the current academic year is "admission to Model C schools irrespective of ability to handle the curriculum, speak the language or pay the fees." The "noble" principle of free and compulsory education threatens to "collide explosively" with the financial and physical constraints of providing it. "What's to be expected for the Model C" school? "Fewer teachers for more pupils? Older children in younger classes? Slower learning processes for those who suffered a township education to catch up? Language confusion between teachers and pupils?" Such concerns which derive from their "sheer weight of numbers" are as emotive as they are real. The Gauteng administrators "have offered no indications of how they might be addressed. On the contrary, their advance notice that subsidies for private schools will be reviewed can only exacerbate the disruption by depriving more parents of the only alternative they have for their children."

Angola

Ben Ben, Joao de Matos View Chipapa Meeting

BR1701155695 Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
14 Jan 95 p 16

[Interview with General Ben Ben, Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola Chief of Staff, and with General Joao de Matos, Angolan Armed Forces Chief of Staff by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [EXPRESSO] Were the disagreements about the Lusaka agreement overcome?

[Ben Ben] We agreed on some aspects, and that can only help to give substance to the application of the agreement if the first phase were concluded. We are now trying to create the conditions needed to consolidate this phase.

[EXPRESSO] Why do you maintain that the agreement is fragile?

[Ben Ben] It is fragile because when it began to be applied it was already being violated.

[EXPRESSO] Do you not believe in the government's goodwill?

[Ben Ben] The commitment we concluded with the government gives us guarantees that it will take concrete steps to ensure the deployment of troops in the most critical areas.

[EXPRESSO] Why do you insist on giving priority to the role of the military?

[Ben Ben] The first steps must be taken by the military. Since the conflict is a military one, the solution will be essentially military. Afterwards, the politicians will consolidate the situation.

[EXPRESSO] Did the distrust abate after the Chipapa meeting?

[Matos] The meeting made it possible to clear up the atmosphere and now I have no reason not to hope that we will sign. We agree on a number of sensitive aspects and on the deployment of forces that are very close by, the movement of people, and the end of hostile propaganda aimed at Unavem [United Nations Angola Verification Mission].

[EXPRESSO] But the agreements are still fragile?

[Matos] I do not think that the agreement is fragile. It was necessary to accelerate the application of what was agreed in Lusaka. This was achieved, and I think that it is sufficient to guarantee compliance with the protocol.

[EXPRESSO] In short, do you think that General Ben Ben will return to Luanda?

[Matos] Of course. Luanda is the country's capital and it is open to all Angolans.

Correspondent on Reasons for Continued Fighting

MB1701203995 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 17 Jan 95

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Angola's warring parties, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government, seem to have a lot of difficulties stopping the fighting, despite repeated promises.

First in Lusaka last November, they signed a cease-fire. Since that was effectively ignored, they held a meeting last week in the central highlands to reaffirm that neither side would launch offensive action, but it is all in vain. UNITA has now shot down a government aircraft and was accused by the government of attacks on several small towns at the weekend. UN envoy Alioune Blondin Beye today appealed for calm and restraint. Well, my colleague Anthony Goldman has just returned from six weeks in Angola. Robin White asked him whether he had seen a country on the verge of peace or war.

[Begin recording] [Goldman] Well, certainly not at peace. Despite what the two sides say about the cease-fire, it is not possible for people to get in their car and travel from Luanda to any of the other cities. There are two very large armies which remain under arms in some parts of the country, extremely close to each other. There are what the UN would like to call sporadic, insignificant skirmishes taking place right across the country, and it is very difficult to call it peace, although probably the UN is right in saying that it is not war, in the way that it has been before in Angola.

[White] Why is the fighting still going on? Who stands to gain?

[Goldman] There are a lot of people who talk seriously about peace, but I think it is just as fair to say that there are a lot of people making a lot of money out of the war. Even so, the two sides [words indistinct] basically military machines, with substantial armies and lots of generals who, I suppose, would have quite a lot to lose should there be peace, a smaller army, and an end to some of these huge military contracts.

Some of the deals run into tens of millions of dollars. Commissions inevitably get paid on this. It is all rather shady and so on, but I think there are a lot of people who stand a lot to lose by an end to the war or at least an end to this military tension.

[White] Are there a lot of obviously very rich generals hanging about the place?

[Goldman] A general in the Angolan Army doesn't get paid very much, but some of them nevertheless seem to have an exceptionally good lifestyle involving large houses, huge satellite dishes, several four-wheel [words indistinct] parked outside the front, weekends by the beach at exclusive resorts—things incompatible with

their salary, as it is officially meant to be constituted. So, the assumption is that people are making a lot of money.

[White] And do these generals go to the front?

[Goldman] Some of them do. Some of them are quite widely respected. I think everyone in Angola is aware that the government's chief of staff, Joao de Matos, is a powerful figure who has led by example in the past, and he is not [word indistinct] with. There are others who seem just as comfortable wearing rather expensive Chinese suits.

[White] What about the UNITA side? Is anybody in UNITA making money out of this?

[Goldman] UNITA still do have access to some parts of the diamond-producing areas of Angola and are still making a lot of money out of that. Also, they did quite good business, even when they lost militarily.

In the last few weeks before the peace agreement in Zambia in November, when they left places like Huambo, places like Soyo, they were able to leave with quite a lot of booty. In Huambo, for example, some of the aid agency houses, some of the UN properties were looted right down to the tiles in the bathroom and the light fittings in the ceiling, crockery, glasses, satellite telephones, vehicles, absolutely everything. In fact, the vehicle that General Ben-Ben, the UNITA chief of staff, came to the so-called historic meeting with his government counterpart a week or so ago in the bush, in Chipipa ... [pauses] he actually turned up in what was quite obviously a former Red Cross vehicle. [end recording]

IMPARCIALFAX Director Killed in Luanda

MB1801111395 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 18 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Angolan journalist Ricardo de Mello, director of the IMPARCIALFAX publication, was shot dead in Luanda on 17 January. Radio Mozambique has learned that Ricardo de Mello received some death threats, apparently because IMPARCIALFAX was investigating some controversial cases, particularly in the areas of Angolan defense and security. One of Ricardo de Mello's plans was to launch a newspaper for southern Africa.

Zimbabwe

Official: Civil Servants Work for Ruling Party

MB1701174195 Harare Zimbabwe National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 16 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The chairman of the ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front] Manicaland Province, Comrade Kumbirai Kangai, says it is high time those who support opposition parties and employed by government resign, as they are likely to frustrate the ruling party's policies.

Comrade Kangai was speaking to the ZBC [Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation] as he clarified the statements

he made in (Honda) valley—that civil servants should always bear it in mind that by working for the government, they also work for the party.

Civil Servants 'Outraged'

MB1601134595 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 16 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zimbabwean civil servants have expressed outrage over a government minister's threat to sack state employees who do not vote for the ruling ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front] party. Unions representing teachers and professional staff condemned as unacceptable the threat by the Manicaland provincial chairman of ZANU-PF, Mr. Kumbirai Kangai, who is also agriculture minister.

The president of the Professional and Technical Officers Association, (Frank Shamulowa), said that, in the past, ministers had called on civil servants to remain apolitical. He accused Mr. Kangai of politicking ahead of parliamentary elections due within the next few months.

Ndonga Party Criticizes Threat

MB1701133295 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1235 GMT 17 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mutare Jan 17 SAPA—Zimbabwe's opposition ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] (Ndonga) party on Tuesday said it would take the ruling ZANU-PF [Patriotic Front] party's Manicaland Chairman Kumbirai Kangai to court if he carried out his threat to weed out civil servants who supported opposition parties.

ZANU (Ndonga) Manicaland Provincial Chairman Clement Mhlanga told the ZIANA [Zimbabwe Inter-African News Agency] news agency Mr Kangai's statement last Friday that he was against civil servants supporting opposition parties amounted to an infringement of basic human rights. He said by either sacking or transferring supporters of opposition parties from the province, Mr Kangai, who is also minister of lands, agriculture and water development, would be violating sections 19, 20 and 21 of the country's constitution which allowed freedom of expression and association.

Mr Kangai said on Monday he did not want to see civil servants using government money and time to further the aims of the parties they supported.

"We cannot let him (Kangai) breach the country's constitution just because he belongs to the ruling party. Our society is a democratic society and this should be reflected by the amount of freedom of association and expression enjoyed by the citizens," Mr Mhlanga said.

He said already some civil servants who were members of his party were being harassed for campaigning for ZANU (Ndonga) president the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole in the by-elections for Chipinge South constituency, which he won last December.

Liberia

Further Updates on Talks Deadlock, Unrest Given

Monrovia, Gbarnga Situations Detailed

AB1701213595 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 17 Jan 95

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Calm now seems to have returned to the streets of the Liberian capital, Monrovia, after the riotous protests on Saturday [14 January] and yesterday in which several people died and cars and buildings were set ablaze. The trouble broke out after faction leaders' and politicians' meeting in Ghana failed to agree on the make-up of a new five-person ruling council. On the line to Monrovia, Josephine Hazely asked Anthony Nyaki, the recently-arrived UN envoy to Liberia, just how worried he was by the riots.

[Begin recording] [Nyaki] We are, of course, concerned because it may have a very adverse effect on the peace process and of course when people lose their lives, it must be regretted by everybody. We are sorry that people lost their lives, but we are happy that following the appeal of the chairman of the Council of State and other leaders, the people seemed to have responded positively. There are no more demonstrations and we hope that the situation settles down and that this process will resume.

[Hazely] But do you in any way understand the frustrations of the ordinary people there who took to the streets?

[Nyaki] Oh yes, of course, I understand. I understand very well. On the day of the demonstration, they visited us at the UN compound in Riverview and I talked to them. They said they were anxious for peace. They had been waiting for peace for a long time and they wanted anyone who has a role to play in bringing about peace to Liberia to do it and they hoped the United Nations would do something. And I told them that the UN will do what it can and that is what I am here for.

[Hazely] You are the UN envoy in Monrovia to try and get this peace process concluded, finally. Now, these politicians messed things up again in Ghana, what are you saying to them now? What moves are you making to bang their heads together to talk seriously?

[Nyaki] Well, I have made my services available to those concerned. Whatever that the United Nations can do, I will try and do it, but of course, the people with primary responsibilities for bringing about peace in this country are the people of Liberia and their leaders especially. I was in Accra at this meeting that took place recently. Unfortunately, there was this impasse on the selection of the representative of the AFL [Armed Forces of Liberia] and the Coalition and after a couple of days of negotiations it seemed that they needed more time, so the talks

were adjourned to enable them to hold further consultations in Monrovia. I believe that they are aware of the feelings of the people and anyone who had any doubt at all about the desire of the people of Liberia for peace will have his doubt dispelled by the recent demonstration.

[Hazely] As a result, you are hopeful that this time around, they will come to an agreed candidate, are you?

[Nyaki] I really hope that they will be able to resolve this question quickly, because people's patience is wearing thin and when the people say they need peace now, it is perfectly understandable.

[Hazely] You went to pay Charles Taylor, the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] leader, a courtesy call yesterday. Now, you went to pay your courtesy call, was he courteous to you? How did you find him?

[Nyaki] Oh, I found him very receptive. He listened carefully to what I had to say and I was very pleased to hear his view about the whole range of issues that we discussed. It was a good visit.

[Hazely] It was a good visit. I mean what is the concrete thing you can tell us about it apart from it was a good visit?

[Nyaki] Well, his intense desire for peace in this country and his readiness to talk to anyone in order to find a solution to the crisis in this country.

[Hazely] And your impression is that you believe him and trust him when he says that?

[Nyaki] Well, yes, certainly, I have to trust him. He was a party to the Accra agreement and I believe that if he was not interested in peace, he would not have been in Accra and he would not have appended his signature to the Accra agreement. [end recording]

Well, there are those who are not so sanguine about Charles Taylor's intentions. Yesterday, we spoke to the NPFL's information spokesman, Teah Farcathy, and he claimed there was a widespread popular demand that Charles Taylor should come back to Monrovia, but not everyone agreed. For example, Milton Teah Jayjay, deputy minister for information in the interim government who called us up today.

[Begin recording] [Jayjay] Mr. Farcathy did know very well that there is no one in town here who has gotten in the streets to demonstrate in support of Mr. Taylor. What happened here was an expression of the citizens' frustration at the slow pace which the peace process has taken. No one ever came into the streets to say they wanted Mr. Taylor. No newspapers ever came out to say they wanted Mr. Taylor, so I do not understand from where he got his own information from regarding the need for people here to have Mr. Taylor in town. Now, don't get me wrong on this. There may be people here who want Taylor. Taylor can come in like any other Liberian to be chairman of the Council State, but you cannot attribute the frustration of a people to their desire

for Mr. Taylor. I think that is completely ... [pauses] is completely a misrepresentation of the reality on the ground.

[White] Do you think Mr. Taylor should come to Monrovia now?

[Jayjay] I think Mr. Taylor, like any other citizen, can come here, if he is ready to resume normal life as a civilian and not as a warlord.

[White] What is the situation in Monrovia today?

[Jayjay] The situation, from the time General Inienger returned has been extremely calm, Robin. The situation is very well under control and we are very happy that Gen. Inienger came back and now has restored sanity to the Liberian people, because the prediction here is that if Gen. Inienger had not returned, Liberia would have been in ruins the following day and we are very happy he has returned.

[White] He is the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] commander?

[Jayjay] Yes, he is the ECOMOG field commander. He is a very powerful commander. He is very impartial. He deals with the warring factions just as he deals with the civilians and that man, only God can reward him for what he is doing for the people of this republic. [end recording]

Meanwhile, back in the Taylor camp itself, people are gradually beginning to return to Gbarnga, Charles Taylor's old headquarters. He lost control of the town late last year when he was driven out by coalition forces, but after weeks of bitter fighting, he has won it back. Jonathan Peleyle in Gbarnga reports on the return of the towns people from the bush:

Thousands of people who fled Gbarnga have begun returning to scramble over houses that survived the three-month bombardment for control of the city. Former Bong County senator Richard Flomo, who returned with his family last week, told me that despite the destruction done to Gbarnga, we are happy to be back home. There is no place like home, he said. When I visited Flomo's home at the weekend, he and his family were having supper after a day of brushing and cleaning around their residence.

A local voluntary group, Liberia Farm Management Incorporated, has mobilized some 600 volunteers to clean the city and carry out repair work at key places in and around the city. Towns within the vicinity of Gbarnga are also being rapidly reinhabited by people who have been languishing in nearby bushes for months.

Marketing activities are also picking up in Gbarnga, but still on a small scale with newly returned residents building stores in front of their homes to sell goods. Liberia's staple food, rice, is available in several places, but mainly because displaced people have been getting

food illegally from deserted rice farms. Hunters and traders are still afraid and hesitant to bring meat to town for fear of highway molestation by NPFL fighters who have countless checkpoints on every road in rural Liberia. Jonathan Peleyle telexed that report from Gbarnga.

Johnson Denies Role as 'Obstacle'

AB1701203595 Dakar PANA in English 1734 GMT
17 Jan 95

[By Mawusi Afele]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Accra, Ghana, 17 Jan (PANA)—One of Liberia's warlords, Major General Roosevelt Johnson denied Tuesday [17 January] in Accra that he is an obstacle to peace in his war-torn country. Johnson, one of the two rival leaders of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia, Ulimo, refuted allegations that he was mobbed by angry Monrovians protesting against the inability of faction leaders to form a council of state in Accra last week.

He told a press conference that he has not been to Monrovia since the abortive Accra meeting hence could not have been mobbed. "I, Gen. Johnson, have been cooperating with the facilitators since the Akosombo Accord was signed to bring peace to the suffering people of Liberia," he said.

Johnson said he has been discussing with facilitators an internal conflict between his faction and that of Alhaji G.V. Koromah which has stalled previous agreements over the sharing of posts in the proposed Liberian Council of State. He said his group has objected to Alhaji Koromah being the representative of ULIMO on the Council of State because his rival refused to discuss details of any power-sharing arrangement.

However, he added, his faction was prepared to resolve the matter amicably and urged the chairman of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States], Ghana's President Jerry Rawlings, and the Ghana Government "to intervene now before the sitting of the new Council of State."

ECOMOG Denies Causing Deaths

AB1701212095 Paris AFP in English 2057 GMT
17 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Monrovia, Jan 17 (AFP)—The African peacekeeping force [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group, ECOMOG] struggling to end the five-year war in Liberia denied Tuesday [17 January] reports that 10 people had been killed in anti-war demonstrations which shook Monrovia at the weekend.

Witnesses told AFP at the weekend that at least 10 people, all civilians, had been killed including five shot dead by peacekeeping forces. The United Nations confirmed one death.

At a press conference, the commander of the peacekeepers, General John Innienger, said however that there had been "no fatal casualty resulting directly from the riot." Innienger added that a ban on public demonstrations in the Atlantic coast town would be maintained "until further notice."

Anti-war demonstrations, staged to protest the failure of warlords to agree an end to the war here, degenerated into riots Saturday. Innienger said that in response, the peacekeepers, sent into Liberia in 1991 and coming mostly from the country's west African neighbours, were toughening up their security measures. He announced that local watch committees set up a month ago by civilians in Monrovia to ensure security in the city would be banned.

"Any unauthorized persons or group of persons found on the street at night would be treated like any other insurgent, night marauder or curfew breaker," he said. A curfew comes into force in Monrovia at 7:00 p.m. (1900 GMT) and it will be "strictly enforced," Innienger said. "Riotous forms of assembly remain banned as directed by the Liberian government," he added.

The general attributed the violence Saturday, which saw some looting as well as attacks on several of the faction leaders, to "some unscrupulous elements (who) exploited the opportunity to attack their political opponents and incite looting."

Talks between the leaders of the five main factions in Liberia broke down last Thursday over who would be named to a provisional council due to be set up under a December peace accord.

Since it started in December 1989, the war in Liberia has resulted in an estimated 150,000 deaths and seen hundreds of thousands of people displaced from their homes, thousands of them taking refuge in one of the neighbouring countries.

ECOMOG Bans Demonstrations

AB180111295 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 18 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] High Command has announced the banning of all protests, demonstrations, and other potentially riotous forms of rallies as directed by the LNTG [Liberia National Transitional Government]. This action is in an attempt to combat threats posed to Monrovia and its environs by recent demonstrations.

Addressing a news conference yesterday at ECOMOG's headquarters, Field Commander Major General John Martin Innienger ordered that the 7 PM to 7 AM curfew hours be strictly enforced, and any violator will be dealt with ruthlessly.

The ECOMOG High Command also banned the activities of community watch teams and said any unauthorized persons or group of persons found in the streets at

night will be treated as curfew breakers. It, however, said law-abiding citizens wishing to protect themselves should do so only in their premises or houses.

Gen. Innienger said ECOMOG and the National Security operators have agreed not to entertain a situation for further public demonstrations until further notice. The ECOMOG field commander used the occasion to reiterate the peacekeepers' mandate to provide security at all times for lives and property within Monrovia and other safe havens currently under the control of ECOMOG troops. He said ECOMOG has the responsibility to create a conducive atmosphere under which all Liberians can feel free and safe.

In another development, the ECOMOG field commander dismissed as false reports that people were killed in the weekend demonstrations since no one was killed, he emphasized. Gen. Innienger said two cases of minor injuries were treated at the ECOMOG field hospital in Bushrod Island while other hospitals contacted did not record any fatal casualty resulting directly from the demonstration.

Meanwhile, the ECOMOG High Command has categorically stated that its troops are united in their mandate and efforts by detractors to set contingents against the others will not divide them.

Assembly Urges Restraint

AB1801112095 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 18 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The TLA [Transitional Legislative Assembly] has appealed to Liberians to exercise restraint in expressing their own anxieties for the return of peace to Liberia. The appeal was made yesterday when the assembly met in an emergency session in the office of acting speaker, (John Drakun) to discuss the recent mass demonstrations in Monrovia by angry citizens which resulted into injuries and destruction of property.

A TLA release says while it views the demonstration of the citizens' right in making known their frustration and weariness over the prolongation of the civil conflict and repeated stalling of the peace process by parties concerned, it was equally counterproductive for the citizens to employ violent means to register their discontent. Accordingly, the assembly observed that the destruction of property and the targeting of the government installations, as well as the personal injuries inflicted were not in the interest of the citizens and the nation. The assembly has, therefore, constituted a special committee to liaise with the executive branch on the most needed settlement of the AFL [Armed Forces of Liberia]-coalition deadlock so as to bring speedy relief to the war-weary citizens.

Meanwhile, the TLA has expressed sympathy for families of the victims of Saturday's [14 January] violent demonstrations and has pledged its cooperation with the

executive and the judiciary as well as ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] to avoid its recurrence.

AFL-Coalition Talks Continue

AB1801113095 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 18 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mediatory talks aimed at finding a solution to the problem involving the AFL [Armed Forces of Liberia]-Coalition on the new Council of State continued yesterday in Monrovia. The talks were held under the chairmanship of the Council of State chairman, David D. Kpomakpor, and State Council's Vice Chairman Isaac Musa, Councilmen Philip Banks and Dexter Tahyor. Also present at the talks was Lieutenant General Hezekiah Bowen along with the general and special staff of the AFL and advisers.

Chairman Kpomakpor informed the participants that the leader of the Lofa Defense Force has already been served citations and that other members of the Coalition, who had also been served citations, are being informed to be available for the continuation of the talks.

At the close of the in-house deliberation, Gen. Philip Kamah, on behalf of the general and special staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia, informed the meeting that the AFL would be holding a meeting with the Coalition immediately upon the availability of the members and would report to the council at the earliest. This suggestion to which there was no objection was accepted by the council with the understanding that Gen. Kamah would report to the council promptly.

At the same time, the Government of Liberia is appealing to all Liberians to continue to remain calm and law-abiding as it continues to search for lasting peace in our country. The government also expresses gratitude to ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-fire Monitoring Group] and the national security forces and various community watch teams for their vigilance to ensure maximum security for our people. In the meantime, the government has advised the public to obey the curfew which runs from 7 PM to 7 AM.

Defense Commends ECOWAS

AB1801124795 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 18 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Ministry of National Defense has commended ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] chairman and president of Ghana, Flight Lieutenant Jerry J. Rawlings, heads of ECOWAS member states, and officers and men of ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] for the human and material sacrifices being made to bring peace to Liberia. The Defense Ministry says the continued contribution by ECOWAS in the resolution of

the five-year-old civil conflict in Liberia will forever remain fresh in the minds of Liberians, even generations unborn.

The ministry's commendation comes in the wake of mounting allegations being made in some quarters in Monrovia against some ECOWAS states, especially Nigeria, for the current stalemate in the ongoing peace talks in Liberia. The ministry said Liberians should remain grateful to countries in the subregion and the friends of Liberia for their efforts in fostering genuine, lasting, and amicable solutions to the country's nightmare.

The Defense Ministry further observed that it will be ungrateful, deceitful, and baseless for some Liberians to accuse some ECOWAS states at this time, especially Nigeria that assisted the then ECOWAS chairman, Sir Dawda Jawara of the Gambia, in 1990 through the instrumentality of the then president of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Babangida, to bring ECOMOG to Liberia.

Meanwhile, the Defense Ministry has denounced these claims and counterclaims against Nigeria and called on Liberians to wrap around ECOWAS and the West African peacekeeping force to find lasting peace in the country.

Niger

Opposition Wins Majority in Legislative Polls

AB1501164495 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1900 GMT 14 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The early legislative elections have ended. The general provisional results for all regions are now known. Saydou Adama Andou, our correspondent at the Sports Complex, comments:

[Andou] As you just stated, the early legislative elections have ended. Here is the situation: After all the counting, the opposition got 42 seats in all the regions, while the Alliance of Forces of Change, AFC, the presidential group, got a total of 40 seats, making a total of 82 seats for both the opposition and AFC. The Niger Progressive Party-African Democratic Rally, PPN-RDA, won one seat at Dosso. This small party's seat will fill out the 83 seats in the National Assembly. For now, the PPN-RDA has announced its withdrawal from the AFC. It is presently steering clear of both the opposition and the AFC to determine its own direction after this new political order.

Apart from low turnouts noted here and there, sometimes less than 30 percent of registered voters, we can certify that these elections came off quite smoothly. But, it should be noted that some results were protested both by the Niger Party for Democracy and Socialism-Tareya, PNDS-Tareya; and the Democratic and Social Convention-Rahama, CDS-Rahama, in some constituencies. For example, at Illela in the Department of Tahoua, where the PNDS-Tareya did well—with more than

40,000 out of the 56,000 votes—the CDS protested vehemently. The same goes for PNDS-Tareya, which vehemently contested the results for Mirria, where the CDS-Rahama won more than 50,000 votes—almost 100 percent of the vote.

In any case, each of the two parties have decided to send all their complaints before the Supreme Court, our country's highest legal authority, for a final ruling.

New Elections in Some Constituencies Urged

AB1601100395 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1900 GMT 15 Jan 95

[Statement by the Alliance of Forces of Change issued in Niamey on 15 January—read by unidentified official]

[FBIS Translated Text] The political parties forming the Alliance of Forces of Change [AFC] met in Niamey at 1000 today to examine the situation in the country following the 12 January early legislative elections. The parties expressed their attachment to, and their confidence and loyalty in, the AFC, as the ideal cadre for the realization of the following noble objectives: the consolidation of national unity, the restoration of peace and security, an end to the country's economic and political crisis, and effecting quality change in the lives of all Niger citizens.

Concerning the early legislative elections and the proclamation of the provisional results, after seriously analyzing the situation, the AFC solemnly states the following:

1. The opposition parties demanded the creation of an independent electoral commission to guarantee the holding of free, clear, and democratic elections.
2. Unfortunately, during the 12 January elections, these opposition parties committed massive and monstrous irregularities, especially in the following constituencies: Diffa, in the special constituency of Ngourti; Zinder, in the special constituency of (Feker); Agadez, in the three territorial communities of Agadez, Arlit, and (Tirovery); Tahoua, in the Tahoua and (Zimbella) administrative districts; and Tillabery, in the Tella administrative district.

In view of these fraudulent deals and irregularities, the AFC member parties express reservations on the validity of the proclaimed results and call on the Supreme Court to declare them null and void and to reorganize elections in the above-mentioned areas.

The AFC member parties recall that the holding of free and fair elections is one of the fundamental principles of respecting the 26 December 1992 Constitution and the consolidation of democracy. Consequently, they cannot accept these results in the present conditions.

Meanwhile, the AFC member parties warmly thank all their activists for the confidence shown in voting massively and urge them to remain calm and to have confidence in the future.

Long live the AFC! Long live democracy! Long live Niger!

Signed by the Niger Alliance for Democracy and Social Progress-Zaman Lahiya, the Democratic and Social Convention-Rahama, the Republican Party for Liberties and Progress in Niger-Nakowa, the Niger Social Democratic Party-Alheri, the Party for National Unity and Development-Salama, the Union for Democracy and Progress-Amici, and the Union for Democracy and the Social Progress-Amana.

Security Deployed After Post-Election Incidents

AB1501143795 Paris AFP in English 1249 GMT 15 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Niamey, Jan 15 (AFP)—Troops were called out after two supporters of Niger's main pro-government party were wounded in incidents overnight following the victory of the opposition in parliamentary elections announced a few hours earlier, officials said Sunday [15 January].

Security forces were out in strength at Zinder, 750 kilometres (450 miles) east of Niamey, which is a pro-government stronghold and where tension remained high after the opposition victory in Thursday's vote, the officials said.

One of the two supporters of the Democratic and Social Convention hurt in the incidents at Zinder, Niger's second city, is in serious condition.

Parties opposed to President Mahamane Ousmane won 42 of parliament's 80 seats, 40 going to pro-government parties and a single seat going to an unaffiliated grouping.

The causes of the incidents at Zinder were not immediately clear.

A senior local official said there had been "provocations" on both sides as opposition supporters celebrated their victory during the night.

The results of the elections were to be communicated officially to the Supreme Court which will have two weeks to ratify them.

International observers indicated that the various problems and incidents encountered during the poll had not had any effect on the final outcome.

Nigeria

General Abacha Presents 1995 Budget

AB1401191095 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1800 GMT 14 Jan 95

[Address by Head of State General Sani Abacha in Abuja on 14 January—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Fellow Nigerians, in the 1994 budget speech, I drew the attention of fellow citizens to the pressing yearnings of our people for peace, stability, and prosperity in our country. Similarly, it is worth recalling that the economy which this administration inherited in 1993 was in a serious state of decline. Productivity was stagnant and output sluggish. Interbank and lending rates were at an all-time high, while our external debt burden deteriorated the balance of payments profile. Rampant fiscal indiscipline complicated by the budget deficits had made reforms difficult to implement. All these compounded the (?strait) of uncertainties, doubts, and frustrations that accompanied the political instability which preceded the assumption of office of this administration. The goals of the 1994 budget were therefore aimed at reversing these negative trends by using a balanced budget firmly anchored on fiscal discipline.

Toward this end, policies were introduced to adjust exchange rate stabilization; identify and mobilize (?new sources) of collective revenue; reduce the level of subsidies, subventions to Federal Government-owned companies, parastatals; and reverse the high incidence of capital flight. It was necessary to rationalize interest rates in order to stem the decline of the oil sector. Among other priorities were the promotion of employment opportunities to reduce the high level of unemployment, especially among the youth, and the strengthening of the law and order apparatus. These (?measures) were supported by effective debt management strategies and the rehabilitation of socioeconomic infrastructures, both to encourage the (?relief) of external creditors and promote growth linkages in the national economy.

Political Perspective: Fellow Nigerians, a society saddled with [word indistinct] social and political disruptions, dissipates its creative energies and cannot sustain stable economic growth and development. Last year, some of the key objectives of the budget were adversely affected by avoidable strike actions and economic subversions. Consequently, at a time when all our assets should have been geared toward regeneration, valuable and (?scarce) resources were expended to restore sabotaged infrastructures and maintain the flow of domestic supplies. In the same vein, we had the compelling responsibility to restore order, stability, and rebuild confidence in our people.

We have repeatedly stated our irrevocable commitment to establishing democratic civil rule in Nigeria. We have kept faith with our promise to convene a constitutional conference, at which the representatives of all our people would meet in a free and cordial atmosphere to discuss issues of concern to our nation. On Monday, 27 June 1994, I inaugurated the historic conference with the full mandate to discuss all items of our people's agenda. The nation now awaits with great expectations the final outcome of the conference deliberations.

Let me emphasize that our commitment to hand over to an elected government stems from our sincere conviction that democracy is the right of a people. However, democracy has a complex and sometimes conflicting definition. That is why various models of democracy necessarily involve compliance with local realities and social, cultural, and environmental imperatives. What is universal to them all is the common cause of liberty. Democracy and liberty go hand in hand to create the conditions of human excellence which manifest themselves in the development of independent minds, in autonomous judgment, and in the formation of human reasoning and rationality. These are crucial in the evolution of responsible citizens who give themselves freely to serve the public interest in good democratic order.

(?The Mission:) The economic strategy of this administration draws inspiration from the recognition that free enterprise is the bedrock of a democratic political system.

The administration places a high premium on the evolution of a dynamic economy in which Nigerians, known for their individualism at industry, can invest their productive capacity. For this reason, we have made it a priority to refashion the way of doing government business without inhibiting the natural enterprising spirit of the Nigerian people.

Fellow Nigerians: Our economic strategy is to strengthen the foundations of a system that will support the future democratic society we envisage. These goals were ingrained in the 1994 budget, which sought to promote a self-sustaining growth in the real sector of the economy. But as in all human endeavors, there were successes and there were disappointments. Consequently, development in the economy in 1994 were mixed. The negative growth rate of the preceding year was not reversed because of the tight constraints of the unproductive macroeconomic environment. However, the aggregate index of agricultural production increased by 1.6 percent, in contrast to a decline of 1.9 percent in the correspondent period of 1993. In the 1994 budget, revenue projections were premised on a cautious estimate of growth in the manufacturing sector. But partly due to the social dislocations and political problems during the period, as well as other factors, the manufacturing sector recorded a negative growth of five percent compared with the budget expectations of 3.3 percent.

A review of the 1994 budget: In an effort to (?clear) the distortions in the nation's financial system, we decided to conserve all the nation's foreign exchange in the Central Bank of Nigeria, allocate the foreign exchange directly to the beneficiary, and eliminate the multi-exchange rate system. This strategy, of course, provoked stiff opposition from tough, vested interests, who openly and secretly frustrated the implementations of the measures. Other policy measures introduced in the 1994 budget were intended to check the inflationary trend and correct the adjustments in the balance of payments. To

this end, inflationary measures moderated during the first half of the year at 53.5 percent in June, which compared favorably with 57.2 percent at the end of December 1993. However, this encouraging trend was reversed by the second half of the year, which recorded a higher rate of inflation. This was due mainly to the adjustments in the prices of petroleum products, introduced in October. But other factors were the depreciation in the value of the naira and the industrial arrest, which adversely affected some key areas of the economy.

In the external factor, the pressure on the balance of payment persisted. Nigeria's total debt stock at the end of November 1994 stood at \$29.4 billion, out of which \$6.75 billion and \$22.7 billion represented the external debt of the state and the federal governments, respectively. On the whole, fiscal operations witnessed a reasonable improvement over the previous year's performance, and the 1994 deficit would have been much less if the revenue expectation had been fully realized. Although the economy on aggregate recorded a marginal growth, the budget retained revenue fell below expectations, due to several factors which will be elaborated afterwards by the minister of finance. On the other hand, the recurrent and capital expenditure were under firm control, as the (?variances) were very marginal.

The 1995 to 1997 National Rolling Plan: The three-year rolling plan strategy entered a new cycle with the 1995 budget of renewal. In the rolling plan, resources will be allocated to ensure that targeted (?capital) projects were completed within the planned period.

Goals of the 1995 Budget: The 1995 budget is a budget of incentives and of liberalization. The 1994 budget demanded of our people that they shed unproductive habits of the past and adopt a new orientation of determination and self-belief. In as much as it opened a window to self-appraisal, the 1994 budget achieved the objective of making our people realize that there is a way forward—that we can only move forward if we discard our frustrations, and take bold initiatives to redeem ourselves and our nation from a compulsion to bemoan our fate. The 1995 budget seeks to build on this spirit, and has gone further to free the economy from the statutory constraints to which it has been held hostage. This budget of renewal embraces the principle that we must not be afraid of experiment, nor should we experiment out of fear. This is the time to mobilize and redirect our energies toward this new national endeavor. We have sought in this budget to create an atmosphere that will permit the enterprising Nigerian to give full play to his potentials.

In this drive, the private sector should act as the engine of economic development and provide the lead, while the government plays the role of a catalyst, by providing the enabling environment in terms of policy formulation, fiscal, and financial support. To this end, substantial reductions have been made on personal income tax, on tariffs on essential commodities, including salt, sugar,

milk, plastics, detergents, and footwear. Steps have been taken to provide essential food items and make them abundantly available to the generality of our people at affordable prices. All duties on textbooks and educational materials have been abolished and customs duties on newspapers have been adjusted downwards.

In the pursuit of the enhancement of the quality of life of our people, the government itself must ensure greater sensitivity, and be prepared to respond readily to our people's desire for greater accountability. It is appropriate therefore, that the government sets up the necessary machinery to ensure that the programs and measures arising from the budget of renewal are faithfully implemented and monitored. At the same time, there is a compelling necessity to protect the consumer exploitation and excessive pricing mechanisms employed by middlemen and would-be abusers of the liberalization measures introduced in the 1995 budget.

Consequently, a consumer protection council is to be established. The establishment of a consumer protection council is an innovation which will place the consumer in a position of strength vis-a-vis the marketer for the first time in the economic history of Nigeria. Its wide-ranging powers include the authority to cause offenders to replace hazardous products with safer and more appropriate alternatives.

An unacceptable practice which has evolved in recent years is the advent of middlemen who interpose themselves between wholesalers and retailers, thereby causing inflated market prices. The council will ensure that such parasitic activities are removed from our market system, as well as provide redress to the obnoxious practices of unscrupulous companies and middlemen. In order to ensure that the influence of the council has depth, its work will be supported by a committee in each state of the Federation.

The policy thrust of the 1995 budget focuses on an intensive revenue collecting drive and on how to reduce the fiscal deficit and institute a stringent control of extra-budgetary spending. The reduction of the rate of inflation is a necessary objective. The budget will tackle this and other problems by its adoption of a tight monetary strategy. In similar fashion, the foreign exchange market will henceforth be subject to a guided deregulation [word indistinct] interest rate regime. The cost of servicing our external and domestic debts and the transfer of resources from nonessential recurrent expenditure, the capital programs, are among the objectives of the budget.

Other elements of the total package of initiatives are the funding of growth and development in the non-oil sector of the economy. Further measures are the close monitoring of government revenue and expenditure, as well as the formulation of appropriate policies and programs aimed at stimulating efficiency in resource allocation.

Fellow Nigerians, we must as a nation confront the dangers posed by the creeping threat of a monocultural

economy entailed in our current overdependence on oil. Our great country is blessed with fertile soil upon which an agricultural revolution can take place. Indeed, it is historically correct that Nigeria is a country of farming communities. Agriculture employs the greater percentage of our nation's work force even today. Yet our country is ironically a major importer of food, paid for with our hard foreign exchange.

In the quest for economic recovery, agriculture must provide the (lead). Prior to independence, agriculture was the mainstay of our country's economy, supplemented only by solid mineral exports. Nigeria was once the world's leading exporter of farm produce and the second largest exporter of natural rubber. In addition, Nigeria was self-sufficient in food and agro-allied raw materials. The blessings of the oil boom which descended on us in the 1970's became an overwhelming temptation that took us away in droves from the land. Existing palm oil and rubber plantations were overrun by neglect, while entire rural farming communities were depleted in the exodus of young men and women who left to join the rising urban population. As the pressure mounted to alleviate the galloping need for amenities for an increasingly restive urban population, so conversely the attention turned increasingly away from the rural areas, and thus was completed this vicious circle in which our economic and development planners in the last two decades became trapped. This must change.

A new approach to economic recovery, through the rationalization of the non-oil sector, must now be implemented with dispatch. The government will finance and provide an enabling environment for the revival of tree crops and tubers, encourage the increased production of cereals and legumes, livestock and fisheries, and the exploitation of solid mineral deposits which abound throughout the country. As a stimulant to the nation's rapid agricultural development, the 1995 budget has earmarked the sum of 2.7 billion naira for the development of agriculture and solid minerals. This is without prejudice to additional funds to be spent in this area from the Special Trust Fund Program.

Also, I have directed all state military administrators to give special emphasis to agriculture. In addition, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture has been instructed to designate to each state targeted quantities of agricultural products for which the state or region is most suited. In this case, we want to see once more in this country groundnut (pyramids) and cotton in some of the northern states; cocoa and rubber in the western states; oil palm and kernels in the eastern states. This is a call on the nation to go back to the land, the historic base of our national wealth and group endowment.

I have also directed the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and all the state governments to ensure judicious use of our stock of fertilizers. We will commit our resources to the completion of our own local fertilizer manufacturing

facilities to guarantee internal production. The customs duties on agricultural and water chemicals have been abolished.

Revenue Projection: The price of crude oil in the first quarter of 1994 fell below the projected level of (\$14) per barrel.

But as from April 1994, the price significantly appreciated, to a yearly average of \$15.75 per barrel. In view of this (prevailing) average price of oil in 1994, the 1995 revenue projection from crude oil sales is based on a realistic price of \$15 per barrel. At an exchange rate of 22 naira to the dollar, the projection translates into an estimated oil revenue of 200.64 billion naira. The projected non-oil revenue for the year is 150.05 billion naira. The Federal Government's net revenue for the year is 160.86 billion naira.

The expenditure estimate: A substantial share of the budget is allocated to capital projects, for which a provision of 44.50 billion naira has been made, while the recurrent expenditure is 53.7 billion naira. A sum of 57 billion naira is set aside for servicing public debts; made up of external debts, 47 billion naira; domestic debts, 11 billion naira; and payments to local contractors, 2 billion naira.

As part of this administration's emphasis on financial accountability, the government shall cease to operate oil dedicated accounts. From 1 January 1995, all proceeds from the sale of crude oil, petroleum profit tax, [word indistinct] etc. shall be paid into the Federal Government Account in the Central Bank of Nigeria. Similarly, the payment for joint venture cash (costs), national priority projects, and external debt services shall carry a first charge priority on the account. It has been observed that there is a large number of parastatals, many of which perform identical functions and constitute a drain on the country's scarce resources. In order to reduce waste and minimize pressure for the extra budgetary expenditure, the existing parastatals would be rationalized with a view to pruning their numbers.

State and local government finance: In line with the revenue allocation formula, state government's share of the Federation Account Revenue in 1995 is 27.83 billion naira, while local government allocation is 23.19 billion naira. This shows that an increase in the statutory allocations from the Federation Account to the states and local governments have been allowed for. It goes without saying that these improvements cannot themselves satisfy the financial needs of this tier of government. Hence, there must be prudent spending and very careful consideration in the allocation of resources. At the same time, I must stress the need for the state and local governments to strive vigorously toward increased revenue generation through creative innovations. They should emulate the innovation introduced by the Federal Government by setting their own targets of resource exploration.

Foreign exchange policy: The main elements of the exchange rate policy adopted in 1994 were a fixed naira exchange rate and decentralization of virtually all foreign exchange [word indistinct] in Central Bank of Nigeria. The major objectives of this policy were to stabilize the naira exchange rates and halt the inflationary trends associated with the persistent depreciation of the naira exchange rate. Other objectives of the fixed exchange rate included the creation of a favorable atmosphere for economic revival and the stimulation of increased aggregate supply of foreign exchange through increased receipts from non-oil exports and foreign investment. Developments in 1994 have shown that the exchange rate policy adopted did not fully achieve the stated objective. Consequently, the exchange rate policy in 1995 is designed to maintain the current official rate and at the same time permit the Central Bank of Nigeria to intervene in the autonomous market.

To this end, the autonomous market will now be permitted in Nigeria, and inter-bank autonomous markets should be allowed to operate freely. The practice of regular bidding for foreign exchange will be suspended. Domiciliary accounts shall be permitted and the beneficiaries shall have unfettered use of the accounts. The minister of finance shall explain the mechanism of the new policy in his press briefing.

Exchange Control Act [ECA], 1962: Foreign exchange transactions prior to the establishment of the Central Bank of Nigeria in 1968 and the subsequent enhancement of the ECA, 1962, were relatively liberalized. The ECA, 1962, served the needs of the economy as it then existed. However, recent developments in the economy, especially the drive toward a guided, deregulated economy, have (?implicated) other options. In the circumstance, the ECA, 1962, is hereby repealed, so as to allow the inflow of funds and foreign investment.

Enterprises Promotion Decree [EPD], 1989: Government is determined to assure investors of the safety of their investment in Nigeria. Accordingly, with effect from January 1, 1995, the Nigeria EPD, 1989, is repealed in its entirety.

Regulations: Government shall examine all laws, regulations, rules, etc. that hinder the free flow of investment and funds into Nigeria. Such rules will be repealed and the regulations relaxed.

Bilateral Protection Agreements: Government shall be willing to enter into bilateral agreements with foreign countries to ensure that investments of their nationals in Nigeria shall not be tampered with.

Monetary and Credit Policies: The regulatory monetary policy adopted in 1994 was informed by the need to provide an enabling environment for the promotion of private investment in the productive sector of the economy. This was designed to enhance the attainment of real growth and moderate inflationary pressures, and thus improve social welfare generally. However, the

fixed interest rate has been accompanied by an unprecedented increase in unproductive bank credit to the private and the public sectors. These developments adversely affected economic performance in the 1994 fiscal year.

In order to restore macroeconomic stability and promote the attainment of economic policy objectives, monetary policy management in 1995 will be closely coordinated with fiscal policy. The growth in aggregate domestic credit will be minimized through a significant reduction in the fiscal deficit of the Federal Government and less reliance on credit from the Central Bank of Nigeria to bridge the budgetary gap. In continuation of the policy of increased sectoral allocation of credit to agricultural, mining, and industrial production, the percentage distribution of commercial and merchant bank credit in 1995 shall be at their 1994 level of 60 percent to the priority areas and 40 percent to other sectors.

Interest Rate Policy in 1995: In order to induce the recovery of the productive sector in 1995, it is desirable to have an interest rate regime which does not constitute a disincentive to invest in these sectors. Accordingly, the interest rate regime introduced in 1994 will be maintained in 1995, but with a minor modification to make for flexibility.

Under the new arrangements, bank and other financial institutions are required to maintain a maximum spread of 7 and 1/2 percent between their deposit and lending rates, subject to a maximum lending rate of 21 percent. To ensure the sustainability of the above policy direction, concerted efforts will be made through fiscal and monetary austerity and supply side initiatives to drastically reduce the rate of inflation. It is therefore envisaged that the prescribed interest rate regime in 1995 will be positive in real terms, thereby ensuring the growth of savings while not discouraging investment in the productive sectors.

Fiscal Policy: The fiscal policy as initiated in the 1994 budget was aimed at charting a rational course for trade policy, providing appropriate rates of protection for industry and agriculture, and stabilizing consumer prices. It was meant to complement the objectives of monetary policy in maintaining price stability and fostering reasonable growth in the productive sectors. In 1995, the fiscal policy stance of the previous year will be further strengthened. Accordingly, the thrust of the 1995 fiscal policy will be to restore the dignity of the naira, expand revenue base, and improve revenue collection. It will also complement monetary policy and protect domestic industries against unfair competition from imports and dumping.

Furthermore, it will encourage diversification of foreign exchange earnings through increased export activities of both manufactured and processed agricultural products, and provide incentives for investment in manufacturing, mining, and agriculture. Details of the new fiscal and monetary policy will be released by the Central Bank of Nigeria.

New Tariff Structure, 1995 to the year 2001: The prescribed period of seven years for the Customs and Excise Prohibition Decree No. 1 of 1988 expired on 31 December 1994. A new tariff structure becomes effective from 1 January 1995 to the year 2001. The salient features of the new tariff structure include a narrower range of customs duty rates, more uniform rates, and fewer import prohibitions. Details of the new tariff structure will be given by the minister of finance in his breakdown of the budget.

The Tax Policy: In recent years, Nigeria has been operating a low-tax-policy regime. The income tax rates for the individual and companies were reduced from 45 and 40 percent, respectively to 35 percent. The tax burden on the low-income earner was substantially reduced. A number of tax incentives were introduced to stimulate the productive sectors. The government intends to continue with this policy in the 1995 fiscal year.

In this connection, and as a result of improvement expected in the collection of value-added tax, the personal income tax rates have been reduced, while the personal tax relief is increased. With effect from 1 January 1995, the band for personal tax shall be from 5 percent to 30 percent, as against the present band of 10 to 35 percent. In addition, the government intends to broaden the entire tax base, strengthen the tax assessment, invest in the collection machinery, expand infrastructure and tax office outlets, and mount a tax publicity drive in 1995. This should lead to higher voluntary tax compliance and earn more revenue for all tiers of government. The focus in 1995 is to perfect the strategies to boost internal revenue through public enlightenment, encouragement of voluntary compliance, and making taxation more participatory through a self-assessment scheme.

Furthermore, government has decided to offer incentives to both Nigerian Customs Service and the Federal Inland Revenue Service by the grant of improved condition of service, better training, and provision of technical support and equipment replacement. Value Added tax [VAT], which was introduced in January 1994, has proved a remarkable success. Between January and 31 December 1994, a total sum of 8.6 billion naira was realized from VAT.

With the successful introduction of VAT, government is now shifting its emphasis from income tax to the tax on consumption, which is less prone to tax evasion as it is progressive in nature. In 1995, government will expand the VAT base and establish more effective rendition of returns. The education tax, which was introduced by Decree No. 7 of 1993, will be implemented in the 1995 fiscal year. The Federal Inland Revenue Service and the Ministry of Education and Youth Development have concluded the modalities to commence full implementation and collection in the new year. Government will also look into the petroleum profit tax law, with a view to

simplifying the provisions of the memoranda of understanding with the oil prospecting companies, and rationalizing the technical costs of production of crude oil.

Export promotion: The export processing zone, otherwise known as EPZ in Calabar, is expected to be completed in 1995. Government shall encourage the private sector to set up export processing factories, and all the incentives applicable to export processing zones shall also apply to such factories. In addition, a Commodity Exchange System will be established to fill the vacuum created by the abolition of the Commodity Board, with its entire operation performed by the private sector. Government will assist in its establishment and also monitor its activities.

External debt profile: Nigeria's total external debts stood at \$29.43 billion as at the end of October 1994. The country's external debt portfolio has remained a source of serious concern to our economic development efforts. However, Nigeria will continue in 1995 to devote about 30 percent of the total foreign exchange earnings to debt service. The external debt (overhead) has been compounded, not necessarily because of additional borrowings, but also due to exchange rate movements, capitalization of debt service charges, relatively slow growth downwards of agency loans, and our inability to meet principal repayments when due. Due to the dwindling resources of government and the heavy debt service burden, the buildup of payment arrears on external loans deteriorated during the fiscal year.

The main focus of Nigeria's relationship with the World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund in 1995 will be to conclude negotiations on the medium-term economic program. Nigeria had commenced negotiations with both institutions on the [word indistinct] draft medium-term economic program as early as 1993. The negotiations will be given added impetus in 1995. The finalized medium-term economic program should not only entitle Nigeria to concessional debt relief, including debt write-offs, but also to highly concessionalized resources from multilateral and bilateral resources. With all these measures taken in this year's budget, including economic reforms, we believe we are more disposed toward receiving debt concessions, including debt write-offs, as have been extended to some other developing countries.

Internal debt: The Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank of Nigeria will continue to fashion out measures that will reduce annual servicing of the internal debt. There is need to liquidate the ways and means advances at the end of each fiscal year. In order to minimize the growth of fiscal deficit caused by inadequate provision for internal debt service, the sum of 11 billion naira has been provided for servicing of the internal debt in 1995. Government is also intensifying efforts to liquidate, as much as possible, debts owed to local contractors.

Privatization, Commercialization of Lease Contract Arrangements: Government will continue in 1995 to

disengage itself from activities that have been more efficiently and effectively carried out by the private sector. However, owing to some identified inadequacy and the huge losses incurred by government in realizing its investment, the sale of shares in public-owned enterprises is hereby suspended. There are certain enterprises which require high managerial and technical expertise if they are to operate profitably.

Government has therefore decided that it is in the best interest of the country that these enterprises are not sold off, at least for now. As from January 1995, a new policy of contract leasing will be introduced by government. This arrangement will involve contract leasing of the enterprises to both local and foreign entrepreneurs. Additionally, in 1995 the government will pursue full commercialization policy for some key parastatals. Consequently, the funding of the affected parastatals by government will cease by the end of 1995, as they would then be expected to be self-financing.

Parastatals Debt Recovery: Efficiency in the nationwide distribution of petroleum products has been weakened by the inadequate pipeline grid system. During the fiscal year, the NNPC [Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation] will complete its program of extending the grid system in order to link all refineries to the network. The NNPC will also continue with its regionalization project. This will be a boost to gas utilization and enhance the afforestation efforts of this administration.

We must be aware of increasing desertification effects brought upon by the burning of trees to obtain coal. The Federal Ministry of Agriculture has been directed that in the program of afforestation they must endeavor to use economic trees. [sentence as heard] In addition, rural farmers should be supplied with economic trees by the Ministry of Agriculture for their use in their farms. All parastatals, with particular reference to NITEL [Nigerian Telecommunications Limited] and NEPA [National Electric Power Authority], must strengthen their revenue generation and collection machinery. In this connection, all government establishments indebted to these organizations have been directed to settle their debts promptly, failing which the Finance Ministry is directed to deduct at source when the statutory allocation to government establishments that default in settling their bills as and when due. [sentence as heard]

Administrative reform: Fellow Nigerians, on November 10th, 1994, I inaugurated a seven-man review panel on the civil service reform. Among other assignments, the panel was charged to examine the role of the civil service in the executive arm of government, to evaluate how well this role has been performed in the past years, and to reexamine the various provisions of the Civil Service Reorganization Decree No. 43 of 1988. The review panel was also required to examine the problems of coordination and accountability in the ministry as well as extra-ministerial departments, and to recommend how the

commendable tradition that once flourished in the civil service can be restored. The panel has since submitted its interim report.

While the interim report is being processed, the Civil Service Reorganization Decree No. 43 of 1988 and its Amendment Decree No. 80 of 1993 are hereby repealed. Consequently, I have directed that the review panel be assigned the additional task to examine the structure of government ministries and parastatals, and to further recommend the appropriate manpower strength of the institution and [words indistinct] cost and efficiency.

Appropriate pricing of petroleum products: On October 4 1994, when I intervened in the restructuring of the pricing of petroleum products, I assured the Nigerian people that the additional revenue which will accrue from the new prices will not be absorbed into the federation account.

Accordingly, I directed that a special account be established with the Central Bank of Nigeria into which the gains from the adjusted prices would be placed. The funds will be utilized for specific, diversified, urgent programs approved by government in the areas of roads, railways, and waterways; education, health, schools, and water supply; security services, energy, and rural development.

I wish to commend the Nigerian people for their understanding and cooperation in this matter. The decision was taken in the higher national interest, in order to ensure that this vital national resource is optimally utilized for the long-term benefit of our people. The sum accruing to the fund this year is estimated at 61 billion naira. I have already announced the membership of the board of trustees who will administer the fund. It is made up of eminent Nigerians of proven integrity who have distinguished themselves in their various fields of endeavor. This committee will be inaugurated very shortly.

Job creation: This administration is mindful of the importance of gainful employment, particularly to the economy. To this end, the 61 billion naira Trust Fund and 40.5 billion capital expenditure for 1995 will be invested in meaningful projects which will generate job opportunities for Nigerians.

Political program: Fellow Nigerians, the high point of action in the political program, which we announced soon after this administration came into office, is the Constitutional Conference inaugurated on June 27 1994, in Abuja. The conference brought the representatives of all our people together under one roof to deliberate fully in an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and fraternity. In fact, the conference has provided a forum for national dialogue at which the representatives have discussed a wide choice of issues based on memoranda fully submitted by our citizens. This week, the conference adjourned until March when it is hoped it will reconvene to adopt its report.

It will be recalled that the conference was scheduled to complete its work in October 1994. We now await the report of the conference, which will take its place as a prelude to the next phase of the administration's disengagement process. Although government understands that the conference had been under pressure to reach that earlier schedule, the administration is determined to press on with the disengagement program, in keeping with our promise to return Nigeria to civil democratic rule.

Therefore, without prejudice to that report, government has decided to take appropriate steps to resuscitate some of the administrative and legal institutions necessary in the implementation of the disengagement process. As we prepare the path to a return to civil democratic rule, it is important that we take each and every step with due care and caution. This administration places a very high premium upon the direction in which the Nigerian people wish to follow, and the march to a new democratic society.

While we shall not abdicate our responsibility to always good leadership [as heard], we shall be guided by what we adjudge to be the genuine desires of the Nigerian people. We have a responsibility to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of our great country. We believe fervently that the future of Nigeria, as a great and indivisible nation, lies in a stable democratic society of free men and women.

Drug Trafficking: This administration is fully aware of the monumental national embarrassment and enormous damage that the drug trafficking issue has done to the image of our great country. Although Nigerians are not producers of illicit hard drugs, our country's good name has been dragged into this nefarious trade because of the activities, indiscipline, and greed of a few of our citizens, who have converted Nigeria into an international drug traffic route. It is imperative that we rid our country of this disturbing image by taking firm and decisive action, as well as instituting stiff penalties against offenders and their collaborators. Our determination, indeed, is to bring our anti-narcotic institutions and lost international standards in line with the United Nations convention on narcotics and psychotropic substances of 1978. I believe that we have substantially achieved these goals. We also intend to do more.

Toward this end, I have appointed a special adviser on drugs and money laundering who will be responsible for drug interdiction and money laundering as economic crimes. In addition, a ministerial task force on drug and advanced state fraud has been established, with the responsibility of ensuring the coordinated implementation of the counternarcotics policy. The task force will provide policy and strategic guidance on areas covered by its terms of reference. This government is determined to ensure stricter surveillance, and no effort will be spared to track down traffickers and their agents.

For the past two months, an international body of experts have been reviewing our financial and banking

laws, with a view to identifying the loopholes currently exploited by money launderers. The panel will submit appropriate recommendations on how this menace should be stamped out.

Industrial Relations: Nigeria is a signatory to the conventions of the International Labor Organization, the world body which regulates internationally acceptable rules governing industrial relations. We have remained committed to the principles enunciated in this convention. An industrial relations environment devoid of selfish and politically motivated leadership is an index of political maturity, the love of which let government take the rather painful decisions to dissolve the Nigeria Labor Congress, National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas, and Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria. We believe that the promotion of industrial peace and harmony, as well the welfare of workers, are essential for our material growth.

Consistent with our commitment to democratic principles and the right of labor to choose its own leaders, the Ministry of Labor and Productivity is hereby directed to expedite the election of new executives of the relevant unions. Government will continue to encourage responsible trade unionism. We have recently reviewed and mapped out relief packages for the workers to enhance their efficiency. We shall not relent in taking measures to promote the welfare of workers in the years ahead.

Foreign policy: Fellow Nigerians, it is important for us to bear in mind that the most important issue in the foreign policy of any country is to guarantee its own survival. While we (?commemorate) this fundamental principle and have abided by it, our foreign policy objectives are anchored in the premise that Nigeria's creative and active engagements in the international arena are needed to promote, protect, and defend not only our sovereignty, international integrity and [word indistinct] national interest but also to fulfill obligations as a responsible member of the international community.

We are determined to continue Nigeria's traditional role in African affairs. We believe it is essential in light of the emerging world order that Africa should develop a capacity to deal with conflicts within its own region and engage in programs that will promote peaceful coexistence, economic progress, and solidarity among the states and the peoples of Africa.

This administration remains firmly committed to the Economic Community of West African States, where in concert with other states and leaders, we have advocated the compelling necessity of economic cooperation and the strengthening of joint efforts to promote peace and security in the subregion. It is indeed within the United Nations that Nigeria's commitment to the pursuit of peace and security, not only in Africa but throughout the world, has been made most manifest. Our involvement in international peacekeeping operations from Rwanda to Somalia, Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, and Western Sahara—and former Yugoslavia—has earned worldwide commendation.

While we shall continue to give our unwavering support to the United Nations as the best hope of mankind for international peace, we are seriously concerned that the United Nations should recognize the current international logic of democratization and the necessity for equitable representation in all its organs, especially in the Security Council. We shall continue to press that the African Continent, which constitutes approximately a third of the entire membership of the United Nations, should have a permanent membership in the Security Council.

In the general pursuit of our foreign policy, Nigeria has always chosen cooperation, not confrontation. It is an approach that, without doubt, respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states. Consequently, Nigeria endeavors to maintain cordial relations with all nations at the bilateral or multilateral levels. We believe that such relationships serve to enhance the efforts of regional and global organizations in improving international understanding in the maintenance of peace and security in an interdependent world.

Youth and sports development: This administration remains committed to the promotion of local and international programs that would enhance the status of our youth. We note with satisfaction that outstanding achievements of our sportsmen and women in various international engagements. We recall with pride our resounding performances in the African Cup of Nations, the Commonwealth Games in Canada, and the FIFA [International federation of Association Football] Soccer World Cup Competitions in Japan and the United States. By these patriotic efforts, our youths strengthened our international image and placed us in an enviable position among the comity of nations.

No nation can afford to ignore the patriotic efforts of her youth. Government will continue to promote a dynamic youth policy and take adequate steps to meet the demands of this sector. We look forward to hosting the Coca Cola Junior World Cup in March this year. We have participated keenly in the Cup's competition over the years, and have indeed won the Coca Cola Junior Cup in China and Japan, respectively. The opportunity to host this competition for the first time is, therefore, an honor which we greatly cherish. It establishes the fact that Nigeria is indeed a leading sports nation, not only in our continent but in the world arena. We are determined to ensure the success of this competition.

The successful hosting of the sports competition shall be a credit to us all in Nigeria. Therefore, we have taken enormous steps to meet the requirements of FIFA in the provision of a suitable infrastructure. I have since directed the appropriate sports organizing bodies to ensure that the designated sports arena where the matches will be played are ready ahead of schedule. Sufficient funds and adequate logistic support have also been put in place at the disposal of these bodies. As we prepare to host the World Cup, I implore all our citizens

to give unflinching support to the World Cup Organizing Committee, and extend to our guests our traditional spirit of hospitality.

Law and Order: The maintenance of law and order is crucial to the well-being of any society. We must control the level of crime, social unrest, and general indiscipline in our society. We owe it a duty to make our country peaceful and conducive to legitimate entrepreneurship, while creating an environment that will encourage trust among foreign investors. In the 1995 budget, adequate provisions have been made to enable the Nigerian Police and other law enforcement agencies to meet their requirements to perform their duties efficiently and effectively. Nigerians must be peaceful and orderly in the pursuit of their legitimate business, and this administration will do everything possible to protect all lives and properties.

Budget Monitoring: A perennial problem in budget implementation has been the inability to attain budgetary objectives due to lack of implementation. In 1995, this must be ratified by the application of monitoring as a major tool to stimulating and evaluating budget implementation, to ensure that budget goals are achieved.

Federal Ministries: Government has made irrevocable decision to diversify the base of our revenue generation, to progressively and substantially reduce our dependence on oil revenue for the economic life line of our nation. Definite measures have been introduced in this budget so that agriculture and solid minerals receive a boost. Already our national agricultural efforts are being articulated, directed, and managed by the Federal Ministry of Agriculture. In view of the huge investments being made this financial year, and to be made in subsequent years to develop our solid mineral resources, it has become necessary to establish a full-fledged Ministry of Solid Minerals Development. Appropriate machineries will be put in place to ensure that the new ministry becomes operational within a short time.

Women have made tremendous contributions in every facet of our national development, and thus deserve institutional recognition, encouragement, and protection.

To give effect to the nation's appreciation of their contribution, to provide an effective specialized forum for a proper coordination and execution of women and social welfare related problems, a Ministry of Women and Social Welfare will be established in the 1995 fiscal year. The new ministry will have the full responsibility of mobilizing the rich energies of women in the service of the nation. Under this new ministry will be established a department to take care of the welfare of the disabled persons. The time has come to harness the endowments of every spectrum of our society, in order to promote and jointly realize our collective drive for development and progress.

In conclusion, fellow Nigerians, the survival, resilience, perseverance, and tenacity of the Nigerian people enable

us to surmount the political and socioeconomic difficulties which overflowed from 1993 into the early part of last year. It is the firm determination of this administration to continue to direct the ship of state away from the path of terrors and disorder. Consequently, we have fashioned this budget of renewal to serve as a political instrument for addressing the socioeconomic and political issues that plagued us as a people and as a nation. With our collective cooperation and support, we shall succeed.

Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria!

Thank you.

Abacha Views African Economies, Liberia

AB1701173595 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 17 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The head of state, General Sani Abacha, has spoken of the need for African countries to harmonize efforts aimed at ensuring peace on the continent. Gen. Abacha made the call yesterday at a banquet held in honor of President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso who was in Nigeria on an official visit. State House correspondent Haruna Idrisu has the details:

[Begin Idrisu recording] The head of state emphasized that it was only through the collective efforts of African countries that peace can be realized in the conflict areas of the continent. Gen. Abacha pointed at the situation in Liberia and called on all the warring factions to respect the Akosombo agreement which was initiated by President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana.

On the economic front, the head of state lamented the current economic problems in Africa which, he said, were being worsened by an unfavorable international environment. In spite of efforts by African countries to restructure their economies, Gen. Abacha declared, no significant change had been noticed because of the huge debt overhang. On Nigeria-Burkina Faso relations, he expressed satisfaction at the continuous interaction between the countries at the top level and said they testified to the excellent strength of brotherhood that binds them together. Gen. Abacha announced that the two countries have agreed to reactivate the existing bilateral agreements and restated their commitment to the ideals of subregional integration represented by ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States].

Responding, President Blaise Compaore said Nigeria occupies a strategic position in Africa and that Burkina Faso attaches great importance to a continued peace and economic growth. He stressed the need for African countries to collectively (?rebuke) efforts to marginalize the continent in international affairs.

Traditional dancers from various parts of the country and the Abuja cultural troupe entertained guests at the dinner. Present at the occasion were the chief of general staff, Lieutenant General Oladipo Diya; members of the Provisional Ruling Council; the Council of Ministers as well as members of the diplomatic corps. [end recording]

Finance Minister on Foreign Exchange Deregulation

AB1701173195 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 17 Jan 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Federal Government has given reasons for its decision to adopt a guided deregulation of the foreign exchange market. The acting minister of finance, Chief Anthony Ani said at post-budget briefing in Abuja that the major objectives of the fixed exchange rate policy of last year were not fully realized. The government has, therefore, decided that every company, individual, or organization will source foreign exchange requirements in the autonomous market. The Central Bank will keep to the official foreign exchange rate or will intervene from time to time in the autonomous market.

State Companies Slated for Commercialization

AB1701085895 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 16 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] The Federal Government is to hand over virtually all its core industrial projects that require high managerial and technical skills to private entrepreneurs to be managed on contract leasing arrangements. The government will also wean five major parastatals this year under its full commercialization policy. The acting minister of finance, Chief Anthony Ani, also announced this while giving the practical details of the 1995 Federal Budget in Abuja. For details, here again is economic correspondent Kanayo Nwubunono.

[Begin Nwubunono recording] Explaining the rationale for the contract leasing arrangement instead of outright privatization, the minister pointed out that there are certain enterprises which if completely privatized will result in government disposing of its assets at giveaway prices. Government has therefore decided, he said, that these enterprises are not sold off at least for now. Enterprises listed for leasing on contract include all sugar companies, all steel mills, all paper and newsprint companies, and all the refineries. Also offered for leasing are all petrochemical projects, all fertilizer companies, the Nigeria Airways, and any other enterprises the government may decide. [passage omitted]

The companies slated for full commercialization in 1995 are the NITEL-PLC [Nigerian Telecommunications Limited-Public Limited Company], National Electric Power-PLC, the Nigeria Airports Authority, NIPOST

[Nigerian Postal Services], the Nigeria Railway Corporation, and the Nigeria Coal Corporation. These companies, the minister said, will start fending for themselves by the end of this year. [end recording]

Four Human Rights Activists Arrested in Lagos

*AB1701195295 Paris AFP in English 1947 GMT
17 Jan 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Lagos, Jan 17 (AFP)—Four human rights activists were arrested Tuesday [17 January] at the national headquarters of the Campaign for

Democracy (CD), the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) said in an official statement.

Those arrested are Sylvester Odion-Akhaine, CD's secretary-general, Ayodele Longe, administrative staff, Phillip Ogbodo, a computer operator, and Bidemi Peters, a clerk, the CDHR said.

Last Thursday Beko Ransome-Kuti, national chairman of the CD, an umbrella organisation for about 40 human rights bodies in Nigeria, and president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers Femi Falana were arrested.

No official reason has been given for the arrests.

BULK RATE
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